

**THE FACE OF THE GERMAN HOUSE:
MODERNIZATION AND CULTURAL ANXIETY
IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOGRAPHS**

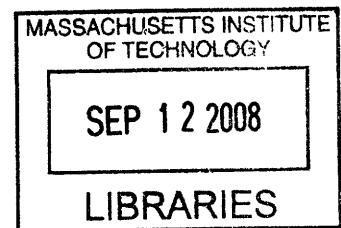
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in the History and Theory of Art
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation proposes that architectural photography—which became an independent genre in twentieth century Germany—was a primary route along which the cultural and political conflicts of modernization were addressed within the contested space of public discussion, and that these photographs helped produce the political and cultural changes driving major developments in German architecture and urbanism since the 1920s. My study explores the history of the representational and disciplinary ambiguity between the house photograph and the portrait, with particular attention to political and social connotations in the work of four German practitioners whose photographic oeuvres are more closely related than is commonly understood: Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1896-1949), Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897-1966), August Sander (1876-1964), and Bernd Becher (1931-2007).

My study of these figures' architectural photographs highlights their participation in broader debates on architecture and public space, specifically through the overarching metaphor of the "face" of the German building. I argue that the work of these photographers, as well as their circumstances of production, epitomize the concurrent and colliding forces of modernity and industrialization. The understanding of the historical precedents and construction of the genre of German architectural photographs demonstrates the contentious issues surfacing in these four figures' work: Paul Schultze-Naumburg's obsession with facial and racial characteristics in portrait as well as architecture photography, Albert Renger-Patzsch's modernist attempt to purge these unsavory ideas by professionalizing architecture photography into an "objective" practice, the analogies to caricature and taxonomy seen in the ubiquitous systems of identification by August Sander, and, finally, the practice of Bernd Becher whose use of the rhetoric of standardization in his photographs of houses appears as a postmodern acknowledgment of the hegemonic achievement of modernization—of both Germany and architectural photography. Spanning the 20th century, the work of these four figures is anchored in a deep anxiety regarding the pace and culture of modernization in Germany; this dissertation challenges the boundaries set up between their respective bodies of work and charts a new history of architectural photography in Germany as a driving force of the volatile history of modernity.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	13
Chapter 1: Face	
Fabricating Culture, circa 1900	25
Goethe and the Kodak: Schultze-Naumburg's Reform Movement	28
Pedagogy and Passion: Paul Schultze-Naumburg's <i>Kulturarbeiten</i>	42
Liability to Reaction: Schultze-Naumburg and Nazi <i>Kulturpolitik</i>	58
<i>Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses</i>	71
Chapter 2: Profession	
Posing the Modernist Subject in the Weimar Republic	75
Albert Renger-Patzsch's <i>Die Welt ist schön</i>	87
The Morals of Objectivity	89
Framing Industrial Landscapes	96
Masks and House Portraits	103
The Physiognomic Impulse	105
Chapter 3: Caricature	
Façade–Face–Character: Inventing Visual History in the 1930s	113
From Mask to Caricature: August Sander's <i>Antlitz der Zeit</i>	115
The Simulacra of Tradition: Portrait and <i>Weltanschauung</i>	121
Eugenics of Space: <i>Heimatschutz</i>	137
Urban Hazard	142
Rural Remedy	146
" <i>Was ist schön?</i> ": Rationalization and Style	149
Chapter 4: Standardization	
Anti-<i>Gemütlichkeit</i>: House Photographs, 1958-1997	158
Choosing a Past: European Preservation, Year 1975	160
Architectural Photography and Art in West Germany, 1945-1960	167
Democracy and Aesthetics	176
Good Modernism, Bad Modernism: New Construction and Functionalism	179
Social Documentary of the 1960s and 1970s	187
Picturing Industrial Spaces	194
Bernd Becher's <i>Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes</i>	203
Conclusion	221
Select Bibliography	227
Figures	263

INTRODUCTION

“Man kann mit dem, was man liebt, nicht objektiv umgehen.”¹

Alexander Kluge

This dissertation proposes that architectural photography—as an independent genre in twentieth century Germany—was a primary route along which the cultural and political conflicts of modernization were discussed since the 1920s, and that it itself was productive of the political and cultural change that drove the major developments in postwar architecture and urbanism.

My dissertation explores the history of representations of the house, with particular attention to political and social connotations in the work of four German photographers: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Albert Renger-Patzsch, August Sander, and Bernd Becher. The work of these four is more closely related than is commonly understood. The analysis of their renditions of individual houses (and humans) highlights the contradictory history and politics of architectural representation and criticism in Germany between the early twentieth century and the 1970s. I argue that these representations of houses, as well as their circumstances of production, epitomize the concurrent and colliding forces of modernity, industrialization, and modernism. By understanding the historical precedents and construction of the genre of German architectural photographs, we can unearth important elements that further our understanding of the discourse of modernization and the complications of image production.

Shortly after I began my investigation into postwar architectural photography, I became intrigued by photographs of postwar and medieval houses by Bernd Becher, which had been displayed years ago in the Frankfurt Museum of Modern Art (fig. 0.2). These photographs had been neglected by the extensive scholarship on the work of Bernd and Hilla Becher.² I was

¹ Kahl, Reinhard. “Interview mit Alexander Kluge.” *taz*, no. 6521 (August 13, 2001), p. 13.

² In recent years, the house photographs specifically have only briefly been discussed, albeit superficially in two thin exhibition catalogues:

Dobbe, Martina. *Bernd und Hilla Becher Fachwerkhäuser*. Exh. Cat. Siegen: Museum für Gegenwartskunst, 2001. The Bechers lent the Siegen Museum prints of the Siegerland photos.

Lange, Susanne. *Bernd und Hilla Becher. Häuser und Hallen*. Exh. Cat. Frankfurt am Main: Museum für Moderne Kunst, 1992. Susanne Lange only mentions the house photographs in passing in her very short text and otherwise talks about industrial storage spaces.

puzzled as to why the Bechers had chosen to photograph individual houses—relentlessly over four decades—and why these images had rarely been discussed. The photographs of medieval framework houses dating from the mid 1990s seemed particularly perplexing: Why would the Bechers, famous for their cool and distant photographs of industrial structures, choose to photograph, for example, a framework house in Sulzfeld (fig. 0.3)? Or a fake medieval framework house in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, a town completely rebuilt after the war in order to remain an attraction for foreign tourists in Germany (and the model for EPCOT Center’s “Germany”)? Wasn’t such a motif kitschy? Were the Bechers trying to be ironic? When I had the privilege to meet Bernd Becher before his untimely death in early 2007, I learned that he had accumulated his collection of house photographs, which he had still intended to publish, on solitary motorcycle trips through Germany. When I asked why he had photographed the medieval framework houses, he responded, “Wenn man das *so* photographiert, dann kann man das machen.” (“If you photograph them like *that*, you can do it.”) I sensed that what Becher meant was not only the black-and-white, “cool” aesthetic of the pictures, but also his deep engagement with the modes and precedents of their production, which had originated in his photographs of late nineteenth-century framework houses. These photographs taken by Becher in his native Sieg Valley engage with and thereby unearth the four main contentious issues which had surfaced in German twentieth politics—and photography: Paul Schultze-Naumburg’s obsession with facial and racial characteristics in portrait as well as architecture photography, Albert Renger-Patzsch’s

For older references from the 1960s and 1970s see Chapter Four.

Very little scholarship on Bernd and Hilla Becher’s work goes beyond the fascination with their industrial motifs or “influence,” even though individually and collectively their entire production, personae, and methods of distribution merit much more attention. Michael Fried, in his forthcoming book *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before* (Yale University Press) promises to read their work “in relation to the notion of objecthood as it was first formulated 40 years ago [by Fried himself] in ‘Art and Objecthood.’” Fried also states that he has “sidestep[ed] the whole issue of modernism” and instead wants to focus on “the persistence of the basic problematic of beholding and/or objecthood.”

Neil, Jonathan T.D. “Michael Fried. Why Photography Matters. Interview.” *Artreview*

<http://www.artreview.com/profiles/blog/show?id=1474022%3ABlogPost%3A633>

Fried, whom Hal Foster called “the brilliant enemy of Minimalism,” also claims to establish notions of “‘good’ and ‘bad’ modes of objecthood” with regards to the Bechers’ industrial photographs. This is especially interesting since the Bechers gained popularity due to their association with minimalism.

Fried, Michael. “Barthes’s *Punctum*.” *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 31, no. 3 (Spring 2005), p. 19.

Foster, Hal. “At Dia:Beacon.” *London Review of Books* (June 5, 2003), p. 29.

Another recent critic, and Foster’s student, Blake Stimson, focuses entirely on the notion of the melancholic nostalgia and frames the Bechers’ “finery” reflected in their industrial photographs as an attempt to “both remember and let go of a failed political program” and “a refuge from political cynicism for an age in which such refuge is unavailable.”

Stimson also suggests that the Bechers want to move beyond “failed political pasts” such as “socialistic views.” It remains unclear why the material remnants of a powerful capitalist mining industry would be connected to the *failing* of socialism.

Stimson, Blake. *The Pivot of the World. Photography and Its Nation*. Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 2006, p. 155.

modernist attempt to purge these unsavory ideas from architecture photography by professionalizing it, the experiments to caricaturize the ubiquitous systems of identification by August Sander. Becher, finally, utilizes the hegemonic postwar rhetoric of standardization to rescue the architectural photography from its demons.

My analysis will detail the social and cultural context these four photographers incorporated into the production of their art. I will employ several avenues of inquiry, investigating issues such as modernization, modernism, the intellectual climate, and allusion to social stereotypes, all of which surface within the selected works of art. Instead of a monographic treatment of these photographers, I have chosen to compare a specific group of characteristic, but rarely studied works in order to highlight their interconnectivity and their participation in broader debates on architecture and public space. Analyzing the circumstances of these photographs' production provides a better sense of the photographers' attitudes toward the prevalent public discourses, and even toward history itself. My approach is indebted to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and its followers – in particular, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer as well as their legatees Jürgen Habermas, Oskar Negt, and Alexander Kluge – what anchors my work is their grappling with the possibility of a public space enlightened and sustained by participation.³ In the work of these theorists, the public sphere is defined by all cultural products not just verbal and textual communication. Visual representations and their distribution were seen to exert a potentially dangerous normative power by Adorno and Horkheimer. Habermas, and even more so Negt and Kluge, however, believed that they potentially enabled heterogeneous spaces of publicness. The latency of cultural products – such as previously commonly ignored architectural photographs – adds another significant dimension of communication. Indeed this temporal delay allows works of art to offer a model of participation beyond what was possible at the time of their production and first reception with its attendant cultural industry and time-specific viewpoints.⁴ The production of architectural photography in the postwar era was assembled from the encumbered, but also vast and rich repository. The notion of the repository is distinct from the

³ It is important to note that the discussion of public space as discussed by Habermas or Negt/Kluge is not limited to a discussion about historical and contemporary relevance but always circumscribes an ideal of public space.

Habermas, Jürgen. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1961). Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1990.

Negt, Oskar/Kluge, Alexander. *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung. Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1972.

Hohendahl, Peter. "Recasting the Public Sphere." *October*, no. 73 (Summer 1995), pp. 27-54.

⁴ "The public sphere possesses use value, when social experience organizes itself within it."

Negt, Oskar/Kluge, Alexander/Labanyi, Peter. "'The Public Sphere and Experience': Selections." *October*, no. 46 (Autumn 1988), p. 68.

modus operandi of the archive, as it does not presuppose ordering principles or a theoretically finite project, but an ongoing negotiation of materials and their origins.

My study reassesses architectural photography with regards to its political and social history. Previously, architectural photography has been described either as a documentary practice *or* an artistic practice.⁵ But the discourse of architecture in photographs has been a site for contentious and important arguments concerning its reification of social realities or utopias. This is particularly true with regards to the connotation of the term “objective,” the use of which, when applied to documentary and artistic images, often lead to embittered polemics from

⁵ Robert Elwall's recent publication *Building With Light. The International History of Architectural Photography* provides a good overview over the importance of architectural photography of architectural monuments and landmarks since the mid nineteenth century.

Elwall, Robert. *Building With Light. The International History of Architectural Photography*. London/New York: Merrell, 2004.

Most photography anthologies, particularly of early twentieth century photography, have focused on photography and photographers working in a modernist style. Christopher Phillips' collection of writings for instance features 27 texts by photographers and critics, all of which are supportive of modernist photography suggesting that modern photography marks a clean break with the pictorial style or Romantic attitudes.

Phillips, Christopher (ed.). *Photography in the Modern Era*. Exh. Cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989. The book was published on the occasion of the exhibition “The New Vision: Photography Between the World Wars” at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1989.

There are a number of general overviews over the development of architectural and street photography.

Ackerman, James S. *Origins, Imitation, Conventions. Representation in the Visual Arts*.

Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 2002, pp. 95-124.

Robinson, Cervin. *Architecture Transformed: A History of the Photography of Buildings from 1839 to the Present*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987.

Blau, Eve/Kaufman, Edward (eds.). *Architecture and its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation. Works from the Collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture*. Montreal: Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.

Craiger-Smith, Martin; Chandler, David (eds.). *Site Work. Architecture in Photography Since Early Modernism*. Exh. Cat. London: The Photographer's Gallery, 1991.

Dewitz, Bodo von/Scotti, Roland (eds.). *Alles Wahrheit! Alles Lüge! Photographie und Wirklichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Sammlung Robert Lebeck*. Exh. Cat. Amsterdam/Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1996. Esp.:

Roswitha Neu-Kock, *Stumme Zeugen. Architekturphotographie und Stadtbildokumentation im 19. Jahrhundert*, pp. 165-200.

Haag Bletter, Rosemarie. “Representing Architecture: the Drawing and the Photograph.” *Architecture California*, vol 11, no. 1 (1992), pp. 6-11.

Pare, Richard (ed.). *Photography and Architecture, 1839-1939*. Montreal, Canada: Canadian Centre for Architecture; New York, N.Y.: Callaway Editions, 1982.

Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 20, Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981. The entire issue is dedicated to the history of architectural photography.

Grefe, Uta. *Die Geschichte der Architekturphotographie des 19. Jahrhunderts. Architekturphotographie – Architekturmalerei*. Phil. Diss. Cologne, 1980.

Grefe, Uta. “Architekturphotographie im 19. Jhd.” In: *In unnachahmlicher Treue*. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1979, pp. 97-108.

Peters, Ursula. *Architekturphotos des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Exh. Cat. Wuppertal: Von der Heydt-Museum, 1980.

Klotz, Heinrich. „Über das Abbilden von Bauwerken.“ In: *architectura*. Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1971, pp. 1-14.

modernist artists and critics. "Objectivity" had become the highest professional and moral goal of nineteenth-century scientists, especially for the visual materials they used.⁶ The documentary character of photography had long been vexed by artistically ambitious photographers and critics. But the production not only of the architectural discourse, but of architecture itself was driven by the photographic forms. Modernity and industrialization brought with them a specific mode of seeing and visually representing their architectural products, characterized by the desire to control and make sense of those products' existence. The creation of archives for architectural photographs, for instance by the Prussian empire, and the publication of architecture photography books by educated and opinionated publishers are but two examples.⁷ By the same token, architectural preservation only became possible with means of inventarization through architectural photography.⁸

The representation of architecture during the twentieth century in Germany is a vexed issue, particularly because of its historical confluence with the Weimar period and the Third Reich. In books such as *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses* (*The Face of the German House*, 1929, conceived 1901-1907), the reactionary architect and writer Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1896-1949) obsessively detailed and analyzed the public "value" of architecture based on the buildings' façades. The façade, according to Schultze-Naumburg, stood for the individual's significance in utopian public realms, either positively or negatively (fig. 0.4). His constant production and distribution of architectural photographs reveals anxieties about the lifestyle of the buildings' inhabitants and exposes Schultze-Naumburg's own urgent sense of alienation, which he sought to counter with a narrative of quasi-human architectural façades. Modernist images of buildings,

⁶ Daston, Lorraine/Galison, Peter. "The Image of Objectivity." *Representations* 40 (Autumn 1992), pp. 81-128.

Daston, Lorraine/Galison, Peter. *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books, 2007.

⁷ Röder, Sabine. „Propaganda für eine neues Bauen: Die ‚Photographien- und Diapositivzentrale‘ des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe.“ In: Stadt Krefeld (ed.). *Moderne Baukunst 1900-1914. Die Photosammlung des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe*. Exh. Cat. Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum Krefeld, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Museum Hagen, Werkbund-Archiv Berlin. Oberhausen: Plitt Druck- und Verlags GmbH, 1993, pp. 8-17.

⁸ Gisèle Freund was skeptical of photography's documentary value: "Die Fotografie ist im bürgerlichen Zeitalter zu einer Alltagserscheinung geworden. Aber gerade ihre Allgegenwart hat sie gewissermaßen unsichtbar gemacht. Die Eigenschaft der exakten Wiedergabe verleiht ihr einen dokumentarischen Charakter, der sie als sachlichstes und objektivstes Werkzeug des gesellschaftlichen Lebens erscheinen läßt."

Freund, Gisèle. *Photographie und bürgerliche Gesellschaft. Eine kunstsoziologische Studie*. Munich: Rogner & Bernhard, 1968. The book is based on her 1936 dissertation.

Preservationist Axel Föhl calls the documentary value even of the "artistic" photographs by Bernd and Hilla Becher "remarkable."

Föhl, Axel. "Die Fotografie als Quelle der Industriearchäologie." In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 20. Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981, pp. 109, 116.

however, often featured precisely those deserted urban settings and cool, modernist architectural motifs. New Objectivity photographer Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897-1966), for example, contributed to the artistic experimentations of the Weimar period with images that are still generally perceived as progressive. Thus, even in the 1920s, representations of vernacular architecture were highly contentious because of their lack of clear political implication, and were criticized for being detached and ignorant of social realities. Architectural photography's typical absence of people was countered by artists such as August Sander (1876-1964) and Gerd Arntz (1900-1988), who embarked on projects that were marketed and understood as comprehensive attempts to picture an unstable German society through the typification of supposedly quintessential German types. But the typification of amateur models paradoxically highlights and caricaturizes the fragility of their location in the public space at the same time that Nazi Germany's alleged superiority was propagated through the perpetuation of elaborately choreographed portrait photographs, for instance by Erna Lendvai-Dircksen (1883-1962). The concepts of perception, recognition, and identity, hitherto discussed in terms of architecture and public space, converged in the metaphor of the ideal face. Complementing these visages was the widespread distribution of idealized images of monumental architecture, an important pillar of National Socialist *Weltanschauung*. House and genre photographs appeared to be subordinated within National Socialist propaganda, but they remained important on a popular and local level – Schultze-Naumburg continued to lecture on vernacular architecture at small venues and Hans Retzlaff's (1902-1965) fake genre photographs of idealized rural spaces were widely distributed.

After the war, the visual culture of Nazi Germany was considered contaminated. Postwar Germany was marked by a mute avoidance of the Nazi past, but a discourse on architecture and its effect on the public sphere provided an alternate way of addressing highly emotional and polarized discussions about class, identity, and responsibility. The restoration of cities and buildings became an issue of intense public interest and debate in the 1950s and 1960s. Postwar standardized architecture met with harsh criticism from German intellectuals, who suggested that the clean, orderly façades were analogous to the masking of social and political problems, but also that their functionalism exposed capitalist vices. The aesthetics of freshly constructed buildings and refurbished houses conveyed simultaneous and conflicting senses of desolation and liberation, banality and originality, bland massification, and the freedom of anonymity. Contemporary modernist architecture offered motifs that conveyed an aesthetic of distance, remoteness, and coldness, qualities echoed in the work of painter Gerhard Richter (b. 1932). The portrayal of historical architecture, however, was met with skepticism by photographers, who worked hard to establish their merits as truly modernist artists by resorting to photographic

abstraction. Just as the portrait became impossible in postwar Germany, so too did the architectural photograph: the latter could be suspected to be portrait-like because of its history of an analogous relationship between the individual house and the individual human face.⁹

More so than in other Western countries such as France or Britain, “character” had been discussed since the late nineteenth century in national, and eventually racial, terms by analogizing humans to the vernacular house, and vice versa. The use of the term “physiognomy” to describe architectural space was common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰ At the same time, human figures were usually excluded from pictures by architectural photographers.¹¹ Instead, the photograph of the *individual* house served in Germany as a metaphor for the *individual* human being. Architectural space as signifier of the public sphere was highly contested and served as ammunition in the culture wars which raged alongside the chaotic – yet steadfast and tragically consistent – modernization of German society since the late nineteenth century.

My four chapters proceed in roughly chronological order. The entire history of strictly photographic representations of architecture, even excluding paintings and drawings, is gigantic and provides material for many more dissertations. I do not mean to suggest that there is a linear

⁹ Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. “Portraits/Genre: Thomas Struth.” In: *Thomas Struth. Portraits*. Exh. Cat. Krefeld: Museum Haus Lange, 1992, p. 155.

Benjamin Buchloh states that the „objective“ portrait had become impossible in the 1960s and was replaced by performative practices: „The historical conflict between a backward, if not reactionary photographic aesthetic on one hand, and a critical artistic practice on the other hand is played out anew in the early sixties.

¹⁰ In France and Britain photographers had begun to photograph architecture very early, in fact earlier than in Germany. But since there were already existing notions of a grand national identity, they initially focused on a coherent group of established architectural monuments. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, French photographers were very interested in Paris street photography and its representation of the effects of urbanization in this centralized country.

Ackerman (2002), pp. 114-5.

Today, the analogy house façade/face is still used, but mainly either in popular literature, or by conservative architects and city planners.

Stimmann, Hans. (ed.) *The City in Black. The Physiognomy of Central Berlin in Figure-Ground Plans and Parcel Plans 1940-2010*. Berlin: Nicolai, 2002.

According to *Grimms Wörterbuch*, the variations of the word Gesicht (i. e. kasiht, gesiht, gsicht) have been known since the thirteenth century when they referred to the concept of sight (“Sehen”). A fifteenth century citation by humanist writer Heinrich Steinhöwel “wiewol ich meiner gesicht beraubt bin” expresses the anxiety about losing sight (Grimms, p. 4087). The term has only been used to denote the physical feature of the face since the late seventeenth century, when it replaced the term “Nase.”

Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm. *Grimms Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Vol IV/I,2. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1897, pp. 4087-99.

Kluge, Friedrich/Götze, Alfred. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1953, p. 263.

¹¹ Vetter, Andreas K. *Leere Welt. Über das Verschwinden des Menschen aus der Architekturfotografie*. Heidelberg: Manutius, 2005.

Starl, Timm. Review “Leipzig. Fotografien 1867 bis 1929.” *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 11, no. 42 (1991), p. 63. Klotz (1971), pp. 1-14.

development within architectural photography, nor do I intend to provide a comprehensive history of architectural photography. Rather, I seek to highlight four different and symptomatic groups of photographic works that represent the ideological struggles of modernization in Germany.¹²

In Chapter One, I focus on the complex figure of Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who personifies the antagonistic forces of traditionalism versus modernization and modernism. Schultze-Naumburg's use of architectural photography sheds light on his contradictory role as a conservative cultural critic enthralled with new technologies. His life epitomizes the desperation felt by many members of the new Wilhelmine Bildungsbürgertum, a sentiment which provoked accelerated cultural production.¹³ It was with great hesitancy that I decided to conduct extensive research on an ideologue best known for his infamous racist book *Kunst und Rasse* (1928), which includes photographs of disabled and disfigured human beings in association with images of modernist art. I was hesitant to redeem Schultze-Naumburg by devoting an entire chapter to his work. Moreover, I was loath to suggest a direct correlation between Schultze-Naumburg and Bernd Becher. In my thesis I show that there is a significant difference between imbuing houses with authoritarian ideology and presenting them as malleable elements constituting an image of the public sphere. While Schultze-Naumburg constructs a master narrative of good German architecture by incorporating snapshots of houses that will fit into that narrative, Becher works through the issues of cultural identity and public space by utilizing modern methods such as seriality and standardization, but at the same time exposing their potentially dogmatic side.

This distinction, however, cannot ignore Schultze-Naumburg's passion for architectural photography. In fact, his earliest and most ambitious cultural project, the nine volumes of the *Kulturarbeiten* (published between 1901 and 1917), rely entirely on architectural photographs as evidence of his view of the world. His production of these photographs consumed Schultze-Naumburg – originally an uninspired painter and architect – and led him, despite staunch cultural

¹² The postwar part of this study focuses entirely on the history of architectural representation in West Germany. The circumstances of the production of architectural photography in the German Democratic Republic are entirely different and would warrant another dissertation, focusing, for instance on the work of photographer Helga Paris, whose photographs of East German streets made between 1983-1985 were published under the title *Diva in Grau. Häuser und Gesichter in Halle* in 1991.

Paris, Helga. *Diva in Grau. Häuser und Gesichter in Halle*. Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2000. Ludger Derenthal's book focuses on the comparison between GDR and FRG photography in the immediate postwar era.

Derenthal, Ludger. *Bilder der Trümmer- und Aufbaujahre. Fotografie im sich teilenden Deutschland*. Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1999.

¹³ Crew, David. "The Ambiguities of Modernity: Welfare and the German State from Wilhelm to Hitler." In: Eley, Geoff (ed.). *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870-1930* (1996). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000, p. 319.

and social conservatism, to seek out the latest photographic technology. His Kodak camera became a constant companion on his automobile travels through northern Germany. At the same time, Schultze-Naumburg, who had felt entitled to an elite status in Wilhelmine society because of his classical education and his superior taste, was deeply troubled by the forces of modernity which appeared in all kinds of guises, including democracy, capitalism, and modern art. His method of juxtaposing photographs of “good” and “bad” architecture bestowed a sense of order on his environment and enabled him to set a stage that, literally, offered means of identification. The “bad” examples – images of nineteenth-century *Gründerzeit* architecture and of modern architecture – depict a trajectory of German downfall through modernization, according to Schultze-Naumburg. The houses Schultze-Naumburg deems “good examples” usually date from the eighteenth century and serve as substitutes for Enlightenment figures such as Goethe, whose paradigms, education, and taste Schultze-Naumburg aspired to embody. Within his books, Schultze-Naumburg retreats into a fantastic world of talking, smiling houses, and his photographs provide access to that world.

Chapter Two focuses on the newly developed modernist style of architectural photography and its apparently perfect adaptation to modernity. In fact, many photographs by Albert Renger-Patzsch were commercial advertisements for modern architects’ work. These images and their aggressive distribution became so pervasive that public discourse through architectural photography, initially a right-wing phenomenon, became the tool of the left wing. Modern architectural photography, clean and glamorous, aligned itself with the artistic style of New Objectivity. Becoming a genre of its own, architectural photography increasingly removed itself from actual architecture, portraying an allegedly modernized Germany through glamorous shots of a few modern buildings. The new genre, however was haunted by the continuing parallel practice of Schultze-Naumburg and architectural photography was so rife with ideological baggage that cultural critics such as Walter Benjamin began to ask which houses *should* be photographed at all. Photographers, on the other hand, asked how houses *could* be photographed. Henri Lefebvre argued that the façade had disappeared in modern architecture. In architectural photography, however, the façade had only become more difficult to capture photographically. Modernist architectural photography had abandoned the traditional gravitas it had still had in Schultze-Naumburg’s work in favor of an elegant and clean formalism. The anger of prominent critics like Benjamin at Renger-Patzsch’s alleged superficiality and ignorance of “real life” is evidence of the historian’s desire to formulate standards ensuring authenticity or truthfulness, an attempt only half-heartedly made by earlier art historians such as Heinrich Wölfflin. Benjamin’s criticism of New Objectivity photography failed to counter its dynamic allure, elements of which

were eventually incorporated into reactionary propaganda.¹⁴ Reassessing this period, after World War II, however, historians and scholars saw New Objectivity photography as the last “real achievement” of German photographers: “Wir Deutschen haben weiß Gott nicht viel. Auf fotografischem Gebiet die Erinnerung an eine wirkliche Leistung und allenfalls noch einen gewissen verbliebenen Kredit. [...]”¹⁵ The important discourse that had begun to emerge—what should be photographed, in which way, and why—was derailed once sophisticated and popular architectural photography’s role was to serve propagandistic purposes in the Third Reich.

Chapter Three illustrates different ways in which modern artists tried to tackle the problem of representing society at face value in the most literal sense. The image of architecture as a site for societal representation is artistically undone by the introduction of portrait compendiums. My claim in this chapter is that artists such as August Sander are less connected to the modernist developments of New Objectivity and have more in common with the late nineteenth century’s cultural pedagogy. August Sander’s well-known 1929 book *Antlitz der Zeit* contained sixty photographs of individuals sorted according to their position in society. Yet Sander’s compendium of images is not an elitist and esoteric endeavor to sustain a deteriorating social and economic system, but rather an attempt to construct, consciously and openly, an album of fictional German types. Does the young village teacher with a goatee and awkwardly stiff pose really convey authority and superiority? August Sander goes beyond the then-popular theoretical studies of social structures and physiognomy and presents visualizations of contesting political and social concepts. Sander’s project only mimics an empirical survey and subverts it at its point of visualization. In the formalist portrait photographs by the Erna Lendvai-Dirksen and the ornately staged portraits by Hans Retzlaff, however, the image of the “face” came to signify an ambiguous national culture. Precisely through modernist aesthetic strategies, their body of work enables a reactionary discourse of the individual in which he who is not photogenic should be eradicated. Of course, the visual drama produced during the Third Reich is as much part of the German visual map as the art of Weimar or postwar Germany.¹⁶

¹⁴ Sachsse, Rolf. “Ästhetischer Wiederaufbau.” *DGPh intern*, no. 1 (1984), p. 18.

¹⁵ Lohse, Bernd. “Patentprobleme–Lebensfragen.” *Foto-Spiegel*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1947), p. 7.

¹⁶ “Den Zeitraum des Dritten Reiches zwischen 1933 und 1945 mit seiner scheinbar vom Nationalsozialismus geprägten Entwicklung, als eine Art des Außer-sich-geratens des Deutschen zu werten, ist ein Behelf zur Verdrängung. Solche Sicht hält genauerer Überprüfung nicht stand. Dies gilt für einen weiten Bereich gesellschaftlicher Äußerungen und somit par excellence auch für Architektur und Städtebau.”

Hackelsberger, Christoph. *Die aufgeschobene Moderne. Ein Versuch zur Einordnung der Architektur der 50er Jahre*. Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985, p. 7.

Finally, the fourth chapter describes Bernd Becher's (1931-2007) surprising return to the representation of houses in the late 1950s. Becher's work registers a deep desire to come to terms with modernization without decrying its dehumanizing effects. Becher is a liminal figure between modernism and postmodernism. His successful efforts to bridge this gap that had appeared unsurmountable in the postwar era do nothing less than to rescue architectural photography and enable postmodern architectural concepts. In keeping with functionalist postwar aesthetics Becher consciously mimics the cool style of Renger-Patzsch's photography as well as the systemic process of August Sander's project. In the course of his rescue mission, Becher insists on widening our perception of modernism. The late nineteenth century framework houses from the Siegerland Region Becher chooses for his photographs are not modernist in style but are the result of a rationalist, functionalist building practice made necessary by the late 19th century success of the mining industry in this region where all other natural and cultural resources had always been scarce. The history of these framework houses was little known and when the photographs of the houses were finally published in 1977 (after Becher and his wife had become internationally famous for their photographs of industrial plants) Becher made sure to emphasize their industrial nature, in order to avoid seeming like a reactionary with a desire for medieval, i.e. "authentic" culturally rooted framework. At the same time, the houses he photographed were motivated by his own heritage and cultural tradition, having been brought up, just like August Sander, in the Sieg Valley. The dogmatic cultural atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s, however, made it necessary for him to avoid any sense of nostalgia. Hence, his photographs of the late nineteenth-century framework houses employ visual strategies (black-and-white color scheme, frontal views, strong contrasts, and precise facture) that emphasize the distance between the viewer and the motif or subject depicted. Becher's interest in historical architecture converged with aggressive polemics about society and history, which culminated in the 1970s and often used architectural photography as a battleground.

Bernd Becher's photographic production of *a* past enriches the present and the future.¹⁷ Contrary to the opinion of many critics, his images of houses cannot simply be understood as evidence of reactionary or melancholic nostalgia.¹⁸ At the same time, they are far from being

¹⁷An attitude towards the material remnants of the past similar to Becher's, was poignantly formulated by Kevin Lynch: "Change and recurrence are the sense of being alive—things gone by, death to come, and present awareness. The world around us, so much of our own creation, shifts continually and often bewilders us."

Kevin Lynch also states: "Choosing a past helps us reconstruct a future."

Lynch, Kevin. *What time is this place?* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972, pp. 1, 64.

¹⁸This assertion was noted in several obituaries, including one by Blake Stimson in *Artforum*: "[T]he Bechers' undertaking had something demonstrably melancholic about it."

ironic or cynical towards such sentiments. The images' strict habitus and stubborn distance reveal fondness in their insistence on the importance and fragility of images of the public space. Becher's photographs can be described as inherently modernist. Even his radically flat images of houses are not "depthless" but refer to social and historical circumstances.¹⁹ The aesthetics of purism rescue architectural photography from postwar polemics and commodification. In the face of an absent "representational substance," artists such as Bernd Becher subvert the "all-consuming world of goods" by showing its complexities and contradictions²⁰ This holds true despite the fact that his photos of the Siegerland houses are essentially images of "Heimat," with which the German left in particular had a fraught relationship and which in the 1960s and 1970s was synonymous with "false nostalgia" and reactionism.²¹ And indeed, Bernd Becher counters nostalgic notions of "memory" in his photos of Siegerland framework houses. His photographs cannot be accused of being reactionary, even at the time of their creation in the late 1950s. Their cool aesthetic and grid display, for instance, ward off possible accusations of reaction or kitsch often associated with framework houses.

The work of all four photographers and their peers shows them to be part of a tradition redolent with desire to produce a utopian public space anchored by building façades as a means of identification and localization of the self. Grouping the work of these four figures allows me to challenge the boundaries set up between their respective bodies of work and retell the story of architectural photography in twentieth century Germany as a driving force of the volatile history of its modernization.

Stimson, Blake. "A Modern Man." *Artforum*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Oct. 2007) p. 67.

According to Fredric Jameson, who describes nostalgia in terms of postmodern popular culture, historical pastiche references senses of loss ("history is what hurts").

Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981, p. 102.

¹⁹ Jameson described the commodification and "depthlessness" of image production circulation as postmodern.

Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991, p. 60.

²⁰ Clark, T.J. *Farewell to an Idea. Episodes from a History of Modernism*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999, p. 407.

²¹ Geisler, Michael. "'Heimat' and the German Left: The Anamnesis of Trauma." *New German Critique* 36 (Fall 1985), pp. 25-66.

There are a number of texts concerning Edgar Reitz's television series *Heimat*, many of which however focus on the issue of mourning, rather than the actual spatial concept of Heimat.

Hansen, Miriam. "Dossier on Heimat." *New German Critique* 36 (Fall 1985), pp. 3-24.

Kaes, Anton. "Germany as Memory: Edgar Reitz's 'Heimat.'" Kaes, Anton (ed.). *From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 163-192.

Santner, Eric. "Screen Memories Made in Germany: Edgar Reitz's 'Heimat' and the Question of Mourning," In: Santner, Eric (ed.). *Stranded Objects: Mourning Memory and Film in Postwar Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990, pp. 150-162.

CHAPTER ONE: FACE FABRICATING CULTURE, CIRCA 1900

Paul Schultze-Naumburg was a cultural critic who published over thirty books, excluding revised re-editions and over two hundred articles and reviews between 1892 and 1944.²² Since the 1960s, much scholarly debate has focused on the political and cultural position of the German bourgeoisie around the turn of the century, particularly on its role in the rise of National Socialism.²³ The cultural formation suggested by Paul Schultze-Naumburg's personal history is particularly contradictory and troubled. Was he a fallen progressive reformer, or had he always been a raging reactionary?²⁴ His "cultural output," the images and texts in his publications, reflects both sides of his personality, which come together in his almost maniacal attempt to form an image of society. Schultze-Naumburg's thousands of photographs of architecture serve not as documentation but as the visual representation of a cultural fantasy, the fabrication of an idealized *Lebenswelt* encompassing culture and society, a desire shared by many members of the dissolving *Bildungsbürgertum*. Only Paul Schultze-Naumburg, however, pursued this desire with such perseverance, creativity, and sense of mission.²⁵

He remains best known for his book *Kunst und Rasse*, the notorious book in which he attempts to defame modern art by juxtaposing images of modern paintings with images of deformed and disabled humans. Still – or perhaps because of – *Kunst und Rasse*, Schultze-Naumburg cannot simply be dismissed as a proto-National Socialist. Schultze-Naumburg had something to say about everything, publishing books with titles such as *Häusliche Kunstpflege* (*Domestic Art Care*, 1899), *Die Kultur des weiblichen Körpers als Grundlage der Frauenkleidung* (*The Culture of the Female Body as a Basis for Womens' Clothing*, 1901) or *Das*

²² Borrmann, Norbert. *Paul Schultze-Naumburg 1869-1949. Maler, Publizist, Architekt. Vom Kultur reformer der Jahrhundertwende zum Kulturpolitiker im Dritten Reich*. Essen: Verlag Richard Bacht, 1989, pp. 245-250.

²³ For an in-depth review of scholarly debate regarding Kaiserreich and the so-called German Sonderweg, see:

Eley, Geoff. "Is there a history of the Kaiserreich?" In: Eley (2000), pp. 1-42.

²⁴ Borrmann claims Schultze-Naumburg would have been known as one of the foremost progressive reformers had he died before 1927, when he published *Kunst und Rasse* (see below).

²⁵ Even Julius Posener notes the disjunction between Schultze-Naumburg's ideal and the actual living conditions in his introduction to Norbert Borrmann's monograph: "In den Gegenbeispielen erkannten wir beschämt die Häuser, in denen wir lebten [...]."

Posener, Julius. "Geleitwort." In: Borrmann (1989), p. 7.

Gesicht des deutschen Hauses (The Face of the German House, 1929, based on several earlier volumes of the *Kulturarbeiten* written between 1901 and 1907).²⁶ These books obsessively detail and analyze public "value" of architecture (meaning, for him, buildings' exteriors) for German society and culture – two interchangeable concepts for Schultze-Naumburg. By extension, the books display extreme anxiety about the lifestyle of their inhabitants, which he links to both societal instability and national insecurity.²⁷ His major work was the *Kulturarbeiten*, a very popular series of nine volumes covering every aspect of the built environment, from landscape to domestic interiors.²⁸

Born Paul Eduard Schultze in 1869 in the village of Almrach, where he died in 1949, he gained a solid classical education.²⁹ After his graduation from the Realgymnasium, he attended

²⁶ *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses* is the fourth and last volume of the never completed new edition of the *Kulturarbeiten* and includes slightly modified versions of the earlier "Hausbau" (vol. 1), "Dörfer und Kolonien" (vol. 3), and "Das Kleinbürgerhaus" (vol. 5).

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*. Munich: Callwey, 1929.

²⁷ It is at least remarkable that in all his publications and writings, Paul Schultze-Naumburg rarely comments on the massive recent and ongoing building activity of the Kaiserreich. Quite possibly, it would have been obvious that Schultze-Naumburg would have despised Paul Wallot's Beaux Arts Reichstagsgebäude dedicated in 1894 or Julius Raschdorf's Berlin Cathedral built between 1893 and 1905. In the lively general architectural discussion about what might constitute a German architectural style, a "German Neorenaissance" seemed the most viable historicist option. But Peter Behrens and Alfred Messel also designed state buildings and the fact that he would be restating an already proclaimed opinion hardly stopped Schultze-Naumburg in other cases.

According to Norbert Elias, while the French or English used the word "civilization" to laud national technical and societal progress, Germans use the word "culture:" "Und das Wort durch das man im Deutschen sich selbst interpretiert, durch das man den Stolz auf die eigene Leistung und das eigene Wesen in erster Linie zum Ausdruck bringt, heißt 'Kultur.' [...] Der französische und englische Begriff 'Zivilisation' kann sich auf politische oder wirtschaftliche, auf religiöse oder technische, auf moralische oder gesellschaftliche Fakten beziehen. Der deutsche Begriff 'Kultur' bezieht sich im Kern auf geistige, künstlerische, religiöse Fakten, und er hat eine starke Tendenz, zwischen Fakten dieser Art auf der einen Seite, und den politischen, den wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Fakten auf der anderen, eine starke Scheidewand zu ziehen."

Elias, Norbert. *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1969, p. 2

²⁸ Swiss architectural historian Othmar Birkner claims that "no middle-class home was without at least one such book," such "guides to a new notion of life and good taste" in everyday life.

Birkner, Othmar. "The New Life-Style." In: Burckhardt, Lucius (ed.) *The Werkbund. History and Ideology 1907-1933*. New York: Barron's, 1980, p. 52.

Birkner, however does not show images from the *Kulturarbeiten*, but from the much racier *Kultur des weiblichen Körpers* (1901), which was not part of the *Kulturarbeiten*.

²⁹ Few publications focus solely on Schultze-Naumburg. Much archival material was apparently destroyed after the war through dispossession of Schultze-Naumburg, and the departure of his heirs from the GDR. Access to the remaining material – currently in the custody of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg – is strongly guarded by his descendents. The author was allowed access to the material available at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, excluding Schultze-Naumburg's unpublished manuscript *Lebenserinnerungen*, which he began in 1942 and completed in 1947, and the guest book of his home in Saaleck, which apparently holds entries by Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, etc. According to the Georg Callwey publishing house in Munich, who published the *Kulturarbeiten* volumes, all material pertaining to Schultze-Naumburg's work burned after the war.

the Karlsruhe Art Academy between 1887 and 1893 and then moved to Munich. His artistic career did not follow a straight path, and even one of his biggest supporters, the painter Ludwig Bartning, described him as an ambitious but mediocre artist.³⁰ But Schultze-Naumburg was not an artist *manqué*. His Academy-style paintings are large canvases that seem to incorporate eclectic styles ranging from Symbolism to Impressionism. His motifs often combined landscape and architecture, sometimes even focusing on architecture, as in his painting of a guesthouse and bridge in Jena, where Schultze-Naumburg's "idol" Goethe once lived.³¹ In 1893, he founded a somewhat successful school for painting in Munich, next moving to Berlin in 1897. Finally, in 1901 he moved to rural Saaleck and founded the painting school *Schulwerkstätten Saaleck*. His friend Bartning described the move not as a retreat but as an avant-garde move to the suburbs: "*Die Verkehrstechnik gibt [...] Unabhängigkeit vom Ort. Das ist eher amerikanisch als romantisch.*"³² The *Schulwerkstätten Saaleck* later became the *Saalecker Werkstätten*, where Schultze-Naumburg oversaw furniture production and sold items from his travels until 1930. He finally gave up painting around 1900 – supposedly because the motifs he sought were vanishing – and became an architect.³³ His entire training consisted of two semesters as a visiting student at the *Technische Hochschule* in Karlsruhe. He neither apprenticed himself, as was common at the

Norbert Bormann's monograph relies heavily on Schultze-Naumburg's own books and his unpublished autobiography *Lebenserinnerungen*, of which he is only minutely critical. Bormann's book frames Schultze-Naumburg as a serious figure, and benevolently considers his "theories." It downplays Schultze-Naumburg's maniacal traits, as well as his later involvement in National Socialist cultural politics. On the other hand, most publications focus solely on Schultze-Naumburg's reactionary side and involvement with Nazis. Robert Taylor, for instance calls Schultze-Naumburg a "völkisch zealot."

Bormann (1989).

Further:

Brenner, Hildegard. *Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963, pp. 27-32.

Taylor, Robert. *The Word in Stone. The Role of Architecture in the National Socialist Ideology*. Berkeley et al.: University of California Press, 1974, p. 251.

Posener, Julius. *Berlin auf dem Wege zur neuen Architektur*. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1979.

Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnago. "From the 'Kulturarbeiten' to the Deutscher Werkbund." *A + U*, no. 257 (February 1992), pp. 47-8.

Claus Pese. "Der Name Schultze-Naumburg ist Programm genug." In: *Aufstieg und Fall der Moderne*. Exh. Cat. Weimar: Kunstsammlungen Weimar, 1999.

Sauerländer, Willibald. „Vom Heimatschutz zur Rassenhygiene. Über Paul Schultze-Naumburg.“ In: Schmölders, Claudia/Gilman, Sander (eds.). *Gesichter der Weimarer Republik: Eine physiognomische Kulturgeschichte*. Cologne: DuMont, 2000, pp. 32-50.

³⁰“Ich sehe ihn noch vor mir als Meisterschüler der Akademie: damals schon unterschieden durch ein unbestimmtes Etwas, durch eine fremde neue Willensrichtung von dem, was man so schön ‘das lustige Künstlervölkchen’ nennt; nicht der hoffnungsvollste Maler unter den Kollegen, aber ein über die Atelierruinen hinausreichender Blick, eine gespannte Energie, eine wachere Aufmerksamkeit auf das wirkliche Leben – im Gegensatz zu jener künstlichen Welt der Künstler.”

Bartning, Ludwig. *Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Ein Pionier deutscher Kulturarbeit*. Munich: Callwey, 1929, p. 17.

³¹ Bormann (1989), p. 17.

³² Bartning (1929), p. 7.

³³ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. "Vom Schaffen eines Malers." *Kunstwart*, vol. 14. (1901-2), pp. 396-400.

time, nor even worked for an architect. Yet in 1904 he received his first commissions as an architect at age thirty-five, and soon Schultze-Naumburg became rather successful. By 1933, he had worked on over 100 projects, almost all single-family residences for the *Bildungsbürgertum* class of doctors, civil servants, and industrialists. He did get a handful of opportunities to build *Gutshäuser* and additions to castles.³⁴ Rudolf Pfister, who would later become the founder of the conservative postwar journal *Baumeister*, edited a book on Schultze-Naumburg's architecture.³⁵ Yet Schultze-Naumburg's style was predictable, and even Julius Posener, who acknowledged Schultze-Naumburg's devotion to architectural criticism, called his architecture "imitative" and a "Kulisse."³⁶ While the historical examples cited in Schultze-Naumburg's books seem to propagate what is known as *Heimatschutzbaukunst* (a revival of styles from the medieval to the eighteenth century), his buildings often look no different than most late-nineteenth-century architecture.³⁷ According to Claus Pese, Schultze-Naumburg's buildings were simply more of the very same historicist architecture that his prose rallied against.³⁸

Goethe and the Kodak: Schultze-Naumburg's Reform Movement

One product of the nineteenth century and its paradoxes was the development of "reform" movements despite society's conflicting sense of what progress could or should be made. The reform movements of late nineteenth-century Wilhelmine Germany were the result of German anxiety toward modernity and its attendant lifestyle. Reform movements included such diverse causes as vegetarianism, nudist culture, and anthroposophy.³⁹ Schultze-Naumburg did

³⁴ Borrmann notes that records for the buildings are mainly lost.

Borrmann (1989), pp. 242-4.

³⁵ Pfister, Rudolf. *Bauten Schultze-Naumburgs*. Weimar: Duncker, c. 1938.

³⁶ Posener (1979), p. 194.

³⁷ Sigrid Hofer offers a short introduction to the topic of Heimatschutzbaukunst. She also notes the scarcity of scholarship on the topic due to its association with National Socialist Heimatschutzstil and the lack of sources since the entire archive of the "Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz," which was last housed in the Landesstelle Düsseldorf

Hofer, Sigrid. "Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutzbaukunst." In: Kerbs, Diethart/ Reulecke, Jürgen (eds.). *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen 1880-1933*. Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1998, pp. 59-71.

³⁸ Claus Pese. "Der Name Schultze-Naumburg ist Programm genug." In: *Aufstieg und Fall der Moderne*. Exh. Cat. Weimar: Kunstsammlungen Weimar, 1999, p. 388.

³⁹ Schultze-Naumburg's role in the reform movements, especially Heimatschutz, has been highlighted frequently.

For a broad description of many aspects of the Reform movement see:

Frecot, Janos/Geist, Johann/Kerbs, Diethart. *Fidus 1868-1948: Zur Ästhetik bürgerlicher Fluchtbewegungen*. Munich: Rogner & Bernhard, 1972.

Vondung, Klaus (ed.). *Das wilhelminische Bildungsbürgertum. Zur Sozialgeschichte seiner Ideen*.

not support any of these esoteric notions, but he was interested in reform movements pertaining to culture, architecture, and landscape, co-founding or co-directing many groups: the Berlin Secession and Munich Secessions, the *Dürerbund*, the *Deutsche Gartengesellschaft*, the *Bund Heimatschutz*, and the *Werkbund*, among others. The groups propagated an array of causes, from environmental protection to artisanship, regionalism in architecture, and building conservation.⁴⁰ Schultze-Naumburg's writings address these agendas, some of which were evidently driven by a romantic longing for an imagined "precapitalist past."⁴¹ German landscape in particular had changed dramatically, undergoing economy-driven cultivation efforts even before industrialization.⁴² When industrialization finally took hold between 1870 and 1915, its impact was rapid and far-reaching: German steel production increased tenfold between 1880 and 1913, until by 1910 Germany produced more steel than France and England together.⁴³ Schultze-Naumburg's problem with modernity was not its technological advancements but its lack of

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976.

Kerbs/Reulecke (1998).

Buchholz, Kai et al. (eds.). *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*. Exh. Cat. Institut Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt: Häusser, 2001.

This exhibition catalogue provides a very broad overview of the many artists' works influenced by Lebensreform ideas, including absurdities such as groups dedicated to the invention and performance of "Germanic" rituals (pp. 133-8).

⁴⁰ Schultze-Naumburg was later also a member of conservative groups such as "Der Block," the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur and the NSDAP (after 1930). But Schultze-Naumburg often ended up disagreeing with group consensus and announcing his resignation from the group. He loved a good public fight, and was simply flattered to be involved in these groups, which is why he probably accepted any invitation to join.

For more information on "Der Block," and its manifesto, see:

Baumann, Kirsten. *Wortgefechte. Völkische und nationalsozialistische Kunstkritik 1927-1939*. Weimar: VDG, 2002, pp. 54-56.

Teut, Anna. *Architektur im Dritten Reich 1933-45*. Berlin: Ullstein, 1967, p. 29.

⁴¹ Schwartz, Frederic J. *The Werkbund. Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 14.

Sayre, Robert/Löwy, Michael. "Figures of Romantic Capitalism." *New German Critique*, no. 32 (Spring/Summer 1984), pp. 42-92.

⁴² David Blackbourne describes the changes associated with wetlands in particular in terms of a "conquest of nature" (draining of wetlands, straightening of rivers, building of dams, etc.).

Blackbourne, David. *The Conquest of Nature. Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2006.

The effects of industrialization the landscape were first visible in England and it was William Morris' critique that was a major influence for German Heimatschutz.

Morton, A. L. *Political Writings of William Morris*. New York: International Publishers, 1973, pp. 53-4.

Just like Borrmann, Julius Posener describes Schultze-Naumburg as prescient of ecological sensitivities. But these assertions are an attempt to make Schultze-Naumburg more palatable in the climate of the 1980s in West Germany.

Posener (1979), p. 193.

⁴³ Berghahn, Volker. *Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 1, 260.

Ringer, Fritz. *The Decline of the German Mandarins 1890-1933*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969, pp. 42-3.

control and structure. In fact, he loved buying modern gadgets and was particularly enamored with automobiles:

Als ich [Schultze-Naumburg] im Jahre 1892 kennen lernte... war er leidenschaftlicher Radfahrer. Das war damals etwas Neues. Er hatte den ersten Pneumatik, der in Karlsruhe gesehen wurde.... Kaum schnaufte das erste Dampfautomobil, so besaß er es und fuhr es selbst. Dem folgten ein Mercedes und ein amerikanischer Wagen. Er schrieb über die Ästhetik des Automobils, als man es noch häßlich fand. Telefon und Schreibmaschine, die manchem Kaufmann heute noch eine Wichtigkeit bedeuten, sind altes Gerät seines Hauses. In der Benutzung des photographischen Apparats mit all seinen neuesten Feinheiten ist er unerreichter Meister – selbst unter Photographen. Die technische Werkstatt seines Hauses ist eine Sehenswürdigkeit.⁴⁴

But the effects of capitalist industrialization became exposed a troubling societal and economic disorder, which replaced a “traditional” order and hierarchy based on land ownership. The concept of *Heimat* as an environmental state is a modern phenomenon, emerging in nineteenth century Romanticism in reaction to industrialization.⁴⁵ The *Heimatschutz* movement, for example, protested the urbanization and disintegration (as Heimatschützer saw it) of the landscape.⁴⁶

In 1904, Ernst Rudorff and Paul Schultze-Naumburg founded the *Bund Heimatschutz*. The Heimatschutz movement was relatively successful among the Bildungsbürgertum, and by 1914 it numbered about thirty thousand members.⁴⁷ Not all reformers were completely convinced

⁴⁴ Bartning (1929), p. 5.

In a letter to friend Richard Riemerschmid Schultze-Naumburg proposes a spontaneous trip for making snapshots: “Am liebsten käme ich mit meiner Kodak nach München, aber ich gehe in 8 Tagen auf eine Reihe von Monaten nach Italien und suche sie erst wieder heim, wenn ich zurückkomme – wie wär’s, wenn wir dann mal zusammen auszögen und mit dem Kodak knipsten?” Schultze-Naumburg also asks Riemerschmid for photos of houses for publication in *Kunstwart*.

Letter from Schultze-Naumburg to Richard Riemerschmid possibly ca. 1903 judging from similar stationary.

Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid.

⁴⁵ Applegate, Celia. *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, p. 6.

In her book, Applegate writes in particular about the Pfalz.

⁴⁶ It was at this time, that the “strong association between cultural identity and natural landscape [...] had become a characteristic feature of German Romantic nationalism [which] was later exploited by the National Socialist Movement.”

Midgley, David. “‘Los von Berlin!’ Anti-Urbanism as Counter-Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Germany.” In: Giles, Steve and Oergel, Maïke (eds.). *Counter-Cultures in Germany and Central Europe. From Sturm und Drang to Baader-Meinhof*. Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 2003, p. 121.

Also:

Otto, Christian. “Modern Environment and Historical Continuity.” *Art Journal*, vol. 43, no. 2 (Summer 1983), pp. 148-157.

⁴⁷ William Rollins provides a comprehensive account of the early history of the Bund Heimatschutz. Rollins, William H. *A Greener Vision of Home. Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement 1904-1918*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

by its urgency, but they saw Heimatschutz as one manifestation of a general reform impulse. Hermann Muthesius, for instance, cared more about architecture than artisanship, but welcomed Heimatschutz, since it might also have a positive effect on architecture:

Und doch ist es in letzter Zeit gelungen, dem Publikum wenigstens ein halbes Ohr für architektonische Dinge zu öffnen, und zwar auf einem Umwege. Das Zauberwort, das die Apathie gelöst hat, heißt Heimatschutz. Die Gedankengänge des Heimatschutzes sind, das müssen wir heute freudig zugestehen, fast Allgemeingut des Volkes geworden, und es ist unsere Pflicht, anzuerkennen, daß die Verbände, die diese Ideen verbreitet haben, ein gutes Werk getan haben. Denn in der allgemeinen Anerkennung des Heimatschutzgedankens liegt wenigstens das eine wichtige Zugeständnis, daß die Bauten, mit denen in den letzten fünf Jahrzehnten unser Land besetzt worden ist, öffentlich als ungehörig erkannt sind.⁴⁸

It was Schultze-Naumburg's fascinated acceptance of certain aspects of technology, not his conservatism, that made him the most effective spokesperson of Heimatschutz. The *Kulturarbeiten* were the *Hauptwerk* of Heimatschutz according to Julius Posener, who also wrote that Heimatschutz was part of general "*Geschmackshygiene*."⁴⁹ As president of the Bund Heimatschutz, Schultze-Naumburg quickly gained a more prominent role than Rudorff, who was genuinely opposed to technological innovations such as the railway.⁵⁰

Schultze-Naumburg's support for industrial technology occasionally bordered on the rapturous, as when he describes the experience of landscape perceived from his automobile:

Das ideale Mittel, eine Landschaft mit dem Auge zu erfassen, bietet der Kraftwagen. Wer von Euch in der Lage ist, einen Kraftwagen zu benutzen–und ich will es allen sehr gönnen und wünschen–wird sofort erkennen, daß sich mit ihm der Mensch ein geradezu überlegenes Mittel geschaffen hat, um die Landschaft mit dem Auge zu umspannen, sie zu studieren und zu genießen.... Der heutige Autoverkehr ist nicht zu denken ohne die neuen großen Reichsautobahnen, die der Führer durch den unvergeßlichen Dr. Todt anlegen ließ.⁵¹

Applegate points to new leisure time at the beginning of the twentieth century as one reason for the success of movements such as the Heimatbewegung.

Applegate (1990), p. 70.

Also:

Knaut, Andreas. "Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung." In: Klueting, Edeltraud (ed.). *Antimodernismus und Reform. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991, pp. 20-49.

⁴⁸ Muthesius, Hermann. "Wo stehen wir?" Lecture at the annual meeting of the Werkbund, Dresden 1911. Reprinted in: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes für 1912*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1912, pp.21-2.

⁴⁹ Posener (1979), p. 28.

⁵⁰ Bergmann, Klaus. *Agrarromantik und Großstadtfeindschaft*. Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1970, p. 129.

⁵¹ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Das Glück der Landschaft. Von ihrem Verstehen und Genießen*. Berlin: Engelhard, 1942, p. 86-7.

Neither Hitler nor Fritz Todt devised the first Autobahns. Apart from the race track AVUS (Automobilverkehrs- und -übungsstraße) in the southwest of Berlin, work on which was begun in 1907.

The organized *Heimatabewegung*, a movement to create a sense of a German homeland unified by tradition, was one aspect of reformers' general criticism of modernization (*Zivilisationskritik*), but it was not necessarily reactionary. Since its inception in the late nineteenth century, the Heimat movement was marked by a strong strain of modernism.⁵² At the same time that certain aspects of modernism were decried, reformists called for a cultural new beginning. Besides Schultze-Naumburg, other members of the Heimat movement also embraced technology: "Certainly, the Heimat movement was romantic, but in its desire to find spiritual uplift in nature it did not reject science, technology, and rationality out of hand, but rather integrated them into its conception of the region."⁵³ The electrification of rural towns, for instance, was welcomed by everyone. Celia Applegate points to the paradoxical position of the members of the Heimatschutz movement:

How and why the Heimat movement participated in trends toward urban living, industrial employment, and consumerism is not at first obvious.... The Heimat movement reflected the reality of centralization, urbanization, and industrialization by reacting against each one of them. But even that is too simple a characterization of its contemporaneity, for its undoubted nostalgia for older ways of life. Smaller communities could go hand in hand with an enthusiastic receptivity to present glories, to big, vital cities, to technological wonders, and, most of all, to national prestige. What appears to the historian as inconsistency – indeed, incoherence – was to the participants themselves simply patriotism.... And if such solipsism seems somewhat childish, one should consider that the real enemies against which the Heimat movement struggled were homogeneity and

The first German highway stretch to be inaugurated was the Köln-Bonn Autobahn, begun in 1929, while the organization HaFraBa e. V. (an acronym for Hamburg–Frankfurt–Basel by the *Verein zum Bau einer Straße für den Kraftwagen-Schnellverkehr von Hamburg über Frankfurt a. M. nach Basel*) needs to be credited for the first major planning efforts (1926-31) to build a transnational highway.

Gruber, Eckhard and Schütz, Gerhard. *Mythos Reichsautobahn: Bau und Inszenierung der "Strassen des Führers" 1933 – 1941*. Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1996.

Kornrumpf, Martin. *HAFRABA e.V. Deutsche Autobahn-Planung 1926-1934*. Bonn: Kirschbaum, 1990. The iconic Nazi photobook on the Autobahn is Erna Lendvai-Dircksen's *Reichsautobahn. Mensch und Werk*. Lendvai-Dircksen's book features 99 black-and-white photographs mainly of construction scenes, just completed empty stretches of Autobahn, and of shirtless, muscled, "Aryan"-looking men.

Lendvai-Dircksen, Erna. *Reichsautobahn. Mensch und Werk*. Berlin: Volk und Reich, 1937.

⁵² Klueg (1991), p. VII.

William Rollins has also pointed out that the Heimatschutz movement, in its inception and rhetoric, was not necessarily reactionary, but "pursued a rather enlightened course of anticapitalist environmental reform and class reconciliation." Its anticapitalism in particular, however, was directed against German industrialists fueling class antagonism and associating their quest for profit with that of the "greedy" Jews.

Rollins, William H. *A Greener Vision of Home. Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement 1904-1918*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, p. 16.

Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

⁵³ Applegate (1990), p. 73.

anonymity. Insofar as one had to embrace them both to love modernity, Heimat enthusiasts were indeed antimodernists.⁵⁴

This assertion is only true of Heimat rhetoric. Schultze-Naumburg did speak out against mass-produced standardized architectural elements, but homogenous classicist architecture did not bother him. For Schultze-Naumburg, industrialization stood in opposition to *Landschaftspflege*, which meant for him the connection of a nation to a reliable image of national space.⁵⁵

His disapproval of the “mass and machine age” was not unusual, nor was the “element of hysteria and nihilism” that Fritz Ringer detects in the unstable nineteenth-century German elite’s attitude toward modernism.⁵⁶ In this erratic space between hysteria and nihilism, Schultze-Naumburg undertook a fascinating experiment reflecting his desire to remedy the image of German culture. Anti-industrialism was frequently paired with anti-corporate and anti-urban sentiments; Rolf Peter Sieferle, for example, cites Schultze-Naumburg’s disgust with the city as evidence of his reactionary position.⁵⁷ Wrote Schultze-Naumburg: “*Unsere Städte sehen nun so aus, wie unsere Städter sie verdienen. ... Von einer Zeit, die nicht sein will, sondern nur scheinen. Die nichts mehr haßt, als die Stille, die kein anderes Ideal besitzt als den Dollar.*”⁵⁸ Criticism of city life was common in his period:⁵⁹ Julius Langbehn called for a *Verbauerung* (farmerization) of Germans to rescue them from internationalization, and Joseph Ludwig Reimer called for *Großstadtflucht* in order to avoid degeneration.⁶⁰ Neurasthenia was the standard diagnosis for the sickening effects of urbanization on upper intellectual classes.⁶¹ If the illness seemed to have

⁵⁴ Applegate (1990), p. 62.

⁵⁵ The idea that industrialized regions are somehow less “pure” and therefore might offer less opportunities of attachment (to the land) for their inhabitants and thus result in less cultural artefacts is countered by the genre of “Ruhrgebietsliteratur,” covered in detail by Dirk Hallenberger.

Hallenberger, Dirk. *Industrie und Heimat. Eine Literaturgeschichte des Ruhrgebiets*. Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2000.

Scholarly inquiry into this field begins in the early 1960s, as a result of interest in “worker’s culture.” Brepohl, Wilhelm. *Industrievolk im Wandel von der agraren zur industriellen Daseinsform dargestellt am Ruhrgebiet*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1957.

Substantial research on literature was not published until the late 1980s.

Schütz, Erhard. “(Berg)Arbeiter-, Heimat- oder Leuteliteratur? Beiläufige Bemerkungen über Schwierigkeiten mit einer Literaturgeschichte des Ruhrgebiets.” In: Taefer, Karl (ed.). *Anstöße. Texte Bilder Begegnungen*. Gelsenkirchen: Gelsendruck, 1987, pp. 70-76.

⁵⁶ Ringer (1969), pp. xi-xv, 267.

⁵⁷ Sieferle, Rolf Peter. *Fortschrittsfeinde. Opposition gegen Technik und Industrie von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1984, p. 175.

⁵⁸ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten. Vol. 4 Städtebau*. Munich: Callwey, 1906, p. 441.

⁵⁹ Bergmann (1970).

⁶⁰ Langbehn, Julius. *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (1890). Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1922.

⁶¹ Kaufmann, Doris. “Neurasthenia in Wilhelmine Germany: Culture, Sexuality, and the Demands of Nature.” In: Gijswijt-Hofstra, Marijke/Porter, Roy (eds.). *Cultures of Neurasthenia From Beard to the First World War*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2001, pp. 161-176.

Radkau, J. *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität. Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler*. Munich: Hauser,

disappeared by the 1930s, it could be attributed to the growing concern that nervous disorders in general were not treatable but rather signs of possible genetic inferiority.⁶² Schultze-Naumburg described the desire to live in cities as *Großstadtkrankheit* in an article for the *Kunstwart*.⁶³ As so often, Schultze-Naumburg tied his suggested remedy, *Siedlungsleben*, to the image of a child growing up, suggesting innocence as a basis for “*Volkstum*”:

Das Kind der Grosstadt kennt keine Erde mehr, nur noch Asphalt, für ihn verliert die Farbe des Himmels und die Gestalt der Wolken ihre Bedeutung, da sie mit seinem Leben und seiner Umgebung in keinem Zusammenhang stehen.... Aber kann es unserm Volkstum in seiner Gesamtheit zu wünschen sein, dass immer mehr Menschen in solcher Absperrung aufwachsen? [...] Besser sind ja diejenigen dran, die sich ganz weit draussen in den äussersten Vororten ansiedeln können, obgleich bei ihnen die Reise in umgekehrter Richtung angeht. Diese täglichen Hetzen herein in die Stadt und und dann am Spätnachmittag wieder heraus, schaffen ein Leben, das in seiner Zweiteilung kaum als das für den Menschen gemässe erscheinen kann. Gewisse, es geht und es ist auch noch besser als manches Schlimmere. Dass es aber eine gute Lösung der Menschenansiedlung ware, wird niemand behaupten wollen. Und alles nur der Entartung, der Millionenstadt zuliebe.⁶⁴

For children, according to Schultze-Naumburg, the basis of appreciation for the nation was hiking through landscape (see *Glück der Landschaft*, below). Two proposed remedies were the creation of a rural or at least suburban “home” for alienated city inhabitants and the revitalization of handicraft.⁶⁵ An important predecessor of the Bund Heimatschutz was teacher and publicist Heinrich Sohnrey’s (1859-1948) *Ausschuß für Wohlfahrtspflege auf dem Lande*, which he founded in 1896 and renamed *Deutscher Verein für ländliche Wohlfahrts und*

1998.

Roelcke, V. *Krankheit und Kulturkritik. Psychiatrische Gesellschaftsdeutungen im bürgerlichen Zeitalter 1790-1914*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1999.

Sichermann, Barbara, "The Uses of a Diagnosis: Doctors, Patients, and Neurasthenia," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, vol. 32, no. 1. (1977), pp. 33-54.

⁶² Linse, Ulrich. “Völkisch-rassische Siedlungen der Lebensreform.” In: Puschner, Uwe/Schmitz, Walter/Ulbricht, Justus (eds.). *Handbuch zur “völkischen” Bewegung*. Munich et al.: Saur, 1996, p. 398. The scope of and dramaturgy followed in reformist communes Linse describes in his text, such as “Eden” in Oranienburg or “Klingberg” by Lübeck, that staged huge “Sonnenwendfeiern,” proves that Schultze-Naumburg’s reform goals were moderate.

⁶³ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. “Die Großstadtkrankheit.” *Kunstwart*, vol.19 (1905/06), first half, pp. 569-77.

⁶⁴ Schultze-Naumburg (1906), pp. 15-17.

⁶⁵ Several books cover the history of the Heimatschutz movement. Edeltraud Klueting provides a good overview:

Klueting, Edeltraud. “Heimatschutz.” In: Kerbs/Reulecke (1998,) pp. 47-58.

A good short overview regarding the development of Heimatschutz in connection with the Werkbund is given by Joachim Petsch.

Petsch, Joachim. “The Deutscher Werkbund from 1907 to 1933 and the Movements for the ‘Reform of Life and Culture.’” In: Burckhardt, Lucius (ed.) *The Werkbund. History and Ideology 1907-1933*. New York: Barron’s, 1980, pp. 85-93.

Heimatspflege after the turn of the century. Sohnrey's professed aim was to end *Landflucht* by improving the social and cultural status of lower-class rural inhabitants. Due to lack of funding and the unwillingness of landowners, few services were actually provided, so Sohnrey instead tried to increase the rural dwellers' affinity to their hometowns by implementing a "*volkstümlich*" vitalization, making suggestions for festivities and home decoration in several newly founded village magazines.⁶⁶

While many progressive art and architectural historians did not take the Heimat movement seriously and simply ignored it, architect August Endell criticized its lethargic, "*töricht*," and essentially deadening effect:

Leidloses Leben, leidlose Heimat mögen Kinder sich wünschen und solche, die nicht wissen, daß Leben Bewegung, Handeln, Erfülltsein ist. Der Tätige wird nicht kleinlich den Wert der Heimat errechnen wollen nach dem, was sie ihm gibt, sondern wird sie vor allem zu erleben trachten. Nur dem, der sich in sie vertieft, ist sie bunt und lebendig. Man muß zufassen können. Heimat ist kein totes Geschenk, das man bekommt, ob man es ersehnt oder nicht. Sie erschließt sich in Wahrheit erst dem Suchenden. Nur das Erlebte ist Heimat. Schon darum ist es so töricht, aus den Leistungen der Vorfahren einen Nationalschatz begründen zu wollen. Bach, Kant, sie sind für die, die sie begreifen und empfinden, nicht für die, die in derselben Gegend geboren sind....⁶⁷

Endell, however, underestimated the allure that photographs representing landscapes had to those seeking rootedness in a specific place. The indulgence in landscape, which he calls for could also be achieved through "indirect" visual means. The reference to the canonical German figures Bach and Kant would have been understood as a stab at specific cultural conservatives. Schultze-Naumburg in particular often mentions Goethe, discussing his icon's home, garden house, and even hotels he stayed in.⁶⁸ Yet Schultze-Naumburg never mentions Goethe's texts, not even the 1772 booklet "*Von deutscher Baukunst*" in which Goethe lauds the Straßburg Münster as exemplary, a document that proved deeply influential during the nineteenth century.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Bergmann (1970), p. 89-102.

⁶⁷ Endell, August. *Schönheit der grossen Stadt*. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1908, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁸ In keeping with the Geniekult of cultural pessimists, Schultze-Naumburg had a death mask and an cast of his hand made, as he thought of himself as a genius. Both are stored in the archive of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

⁶⁹ Hoffmann, Godehard. *Architektur für die Nation? Der Reichstag und die Staatsbauten des Deutschen Kaiserreichs*. Cologne: DuMont, 2000, p. 36.

Goethe is often referenced by contemporaries, for instance letting him exclaim in despair, at the sight of Bauhaus-buildings: "[M]it Recht dürfte Altmeister Goethe ausrufen: Habt Ihr es immer noch nicht weiter gebracht?"

Referring to Goethe as a symbol for lost national pride was not uncommon – architect Paul Schmitthenner mentions Goethe in order to invoke this absence of national pride in modernist architecture:

Von Goethes Haus zur Wohnmaschine klappt ein Abgrund der unüberbrückbar ist. Täuschen wir uns nicht. Es handelt sich hier nicht um einen vorübergehenden Zeitgeschmack oder eine Modefrage, es ist eine tiefgehende geistige Frage, die in ihrer Bedeutung über eine deutsche Angelegenheit hinaus eine Menschheitsfrage ist. Auf der einen Seite: Rechnender Verstand, Maschine, Masse, Kollektivismus; auf der anderen Seite: Gefühl, blutwarmes Leben, Mensch, Persönlichkeit... Wir Deutsche sollten uns nicht des Letzten selbst berauben, des Glaubens an eine Sendung des deutschen Volkes und diese beginnt beim deutschen Menschen in seinem Kampfe um die deutsche Kultur.⁷⁰

According to several architectural critics, this time of national grandeur happened circa 1800, a time, when simplicity and good craftsmanship prevailed. The most prominent publication that praised the architecture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was Paul Mebes' extremely popular two-volume book *Um 1800*, published in 1908.⁷¹ *Um 1800* features a short introductory text and acknowledgements by Mebes, followed by several hundred images from a professional photo agency of classicist façades, drawings, and Biedermeier interiors. While Mebes shares some essential dislikes with Schultze-Naumburg (urban density, *Spekulation*, and the *Wirr-Warr* of the nineteenth century), Mebes blames the decline of architecture on political and economic instability. Apart from a pang of self-pity, the book has no explicit nationalist agenda and remains largely free of polemics. Image captions are never interpretative and include only the location, name, and date of the building. Not all of Mebes' examples are from Germany, some hailing from the Netherlands or Denmark. Mebes' book was most likely not meant for a mass market but addressed a well-educated audience to whom the superiority of his examples would be self-evident. Hence Mebes' examples and their "look" are more sophisticated than Schultze-Naumburg's, proof of not only ideological differences with Schultze-Naumburg, but also a superior position: Mebes was a member of the well-established upper-middle class bourgeoisie. His title as "*Regierungsbaumeister* a. D." is prominently featured on the book's frontispiece, and his acknowledgements list over fifty members of government cultural agencies ("*Amtsrichter*," "*Provincialkonservator*," "*Kreisbauinspektor*") and professors as contributors,

Buschmann, A. „Die Bauhaus Siedlung von Walther Gropius in Weimar.“ *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, vol. 56. no. 64 (1922), p. 392.

⁷⁰ Schmitthenner, Paul. *Baugestaltung. Das deutsche Wohnhaus*. Stuttgart: DVA, 1932, p. 8.

⁷¹ Mebes, Paul. *Um 1800*. Munich: F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1908.

Several editions of the books were printed.

Posener also states the importance of Mebes' book, that marked a return to classicism and Biedermeier. Posener (1979), p. 27.

thus paying homage to the establishment and its apparatus. Schultze-Naumburg, on the other hand, had lost faith in the capability of the government to embrace reformers like himself, and his disillusionment fueled his activism.

Shortly after founding the Bund Deutscher Heimatschutz, Schultze-Naumburg co-founded the Werkbund in 1907, hoping to promote traditional craftsmanship and aesthetics.⁷² He eventually resigned from the Werkbund in 1927 after a fight surrounding the *Weissenhofsiedlung*, which featured the flat roofs he so despised.⁷³ By 1926, Schultze-Naumburg was criticized for his opposition to modern building forms put forward by other Werkbund members. In an article entitled “*Die Tradition, Schultze-Naumburg und wir*” in the Werkbund’s publication *Die Form*, architect Hugo Häring criticized the conservative Heimatschutz movement and ridiculed Schultze-Naumburg in particular as behind the times (*zurueckgeblieben*), irrational, and (what would have bothered the uptight Schultze-Naumburg most) inconsistent:

Schultze-Naumburg, der vor 25 Jahren sich eine Tradition verschrieb und seither reichlich und unbeirrt von ihr einnahm, hat soeben die Entdeckung gemacht, daß der neue Stil in der Baukunst eine Erfindung kultur- und traditionsloser Menschen ist, die keine Liebe zur deutschen Heimat besitzen.... Wir wollen uns nun nicht auf eine Untersuchung der Bluts substanz der verschiedenen Stilbekenntnisse im Raume der deutschen Landschaft einlassen, aber wir müssen doch einmal einer Auffassung entgegenreten, die, gern noch politisch schattiert, heute überall auftritt, und die eine der lustigsten Gedankenlosigkeiten verrät, die sich die historisierenden Kulturförderer Arm in Arm mit den Blut- und Rassetümmelern leisten.... Schultze-Naumburg ist es, der die Tradition einer Form pflegt, die als eine Fremdes, als vom Orient, Hellas und Rom stammend... in den Lebensraum der nordischen Völker hereinhängt.... Ist Sch.-N.’s bourgeois Barock wesentlich?⁷⁴

⁷² Schultze-Naumburg’s involvement is often only shortly mentioned in the publications on the Werkbund. Birkner, Othmar. “The New Life-Style.” In: Burckhardt, Lucius (ed.) *The Werkbund. History and Ideology 1907-1933*. New York: Barron’s, 1980, pp. 52-3.

Birkner, a Swiss architectural historian engaged in the Swiss Heimatschutz, mentions the influence of the reform movement, and with it, Schultze-Naumburg.

Junghans, Kurt. *Der Deutsche Werkbund. Sein erstes Jahrzehnt*. Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1982, pp. 9, 24, 140.

In this book printed in the German Democratic Republic, Schultze-Naumburg is mentioned twice in the text, always with the qualifier that he “later ended as a propagandist of German fascism.” (p. 9)

Hoffmann, Ot (ed.). *Der Deutsche Werkbund – 1907, 1947, 1987...* Berlin: Wilhelm Ernst und Sohn Verlag für Architektur und technische Wissenschaften, 1987, p. 23.

This publication on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Werkbund argues for the continued importance of the Werkbund. Schultze-Naumburg’s name is only found on the reprinted announcement of the founding.

Schwartz (1996), pp. 195-6.

⁷³ Apart from the arguments with regards to building technology, Schultze-Naumburg offered an array of other arguments against modern architecture. What really seemed to bother him however, were modernist *architects* themselves, whom he describes as manipulative, greedy, and vain.

⁷⁴ Häring, Hugo. “Die Tradition, Schultze-Naumburg und wir.” *Die Form. Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit*, no. 5 (1926).

In the next issue of *Die Form*, Schultze-Naumburg, in his miffed reply, resorts to calling modern buildings “Asian,” thus in his mind settling the issue of truly German building.⁷⁵ How far-reaching the debate was is evident from the discussion of the topic two years later in the 1928 exhibition catalogue for the Werkbund traveling exhibition *Neues Bauen* at the Gewerbemuseum Basel. Swiss architect Peter Meyer comments on the conflict that became obvious in the confrontation between the Heimatschutz movement (in the figure of Schultze-Naumburg) and the Werkbund when the latter decided to support “Neues Baues” and industrial production. Meyer’s text entitled “Tradition?” takes issue with the Heimatschutz movement’s use of the word, which “connotes so many nice feelings, such as *Heimatliebe*, loyalty to ancestors, and a sense of responsibility for the future to preserve the achieved and passed down values....”⁷⁶ The author ridicules, however, racially motivated chauvinism:

Der Nachkomme erbt von seinem Vorfahren einen bestimmten Körpertypus, die Schädelform, den Schwung der Nase, allenfalls eine bestimmte Rhythmik des Gehens, Sprechens, Denkens: alles Dinge, die seiner Willkür entzogen sind, und die sich geltend machen, auch wenn die äußeren Lebensumstände gänzlich neu geworden sind. Auf diese Weise vererben sich alle Volks- und Rasseeigentümlichkeiten und man braucht keine Verein zu gründen und Vorträge zu halten. Man hat auch keinen Grund, auf diese Eigentümlichkeiten besonders stolz zu sein, blonde oder schwarze Haarfarbe besagt nichts über die Tüchtigkeit des einzelnen Menschenexemplars; diese äußeren Dinge sind weder gut noch böse, und alles Volks- und Rassengerede, das auf Grund dieser rein zoologischen Merkmale die Vorherrschaft eines Volkes begründen möchte, trägt von allem Anfang an den Stempel dilettantischer Subalternität.⁷⁷

Mark Jarzombek has already refuted the notion that all Werkbund members were unpartisan idealists. Instead, as Jarzombek points out that “the Werkbund’s concerns were constructed to disguise and legitimate upper-middle class ideals.”⁷⁸ Though one of the co-founders of the Werkbund, Schultze-Naumburg did not put much of his writing at the

⁷⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. “Tradition.” *Die Form. Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit*, no. 7 (1926).

⁷⁶ Meyer, Peter. “Tradition?” In: *Neues Bauen. Wanderausstellung des Deutschen Werkbundes*. Exh. Cat. Gewerbemuseum Basel, February 12-March 11, 1928, n.p.

⁷⁷ Ibid., n.p.

⁷⁸ Jarzombek, Mark. “The Discourses of a Bourgeois Utopia, 1904-1908, and the Founding of the Werkbund.” In: Forster-Hahn, Françoise (ed.). *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889-1910*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996, p. 129.

Anderson, Stanford. “Peter Behrens, Friedrich Naumann, and the Werkbund: Ideology in Industriekultur,” In: Behar, Roberto (ed.). *Architecture of Politics*. Miami Beach, FL: Wolfsonian Foundation, 1995, pp. 6-19.

Anderson, Stanford. “Deutscher Werkbund — the 1914 Debate: Hermann Muthesius versus Henry van de Velde.” In: Framer, Ben Louw, Hentie (eds.). *Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought*. London/New York: Routledge, 1993. pp. 462-467.

organization's service, which suggests that one reason he was involved in the Werkbund was to promote the products of his "Saalecker Werkstätten," which produced furniture for clients who probably knew him through the publication *Häusliche Kunstpflege* and the *Kulturarbeiten*.⁷⁹

The style of the furniture Schultze-Naumburg designed and produced could be best classified as a frumpy mix of Jugendstil and Biedermeier. Schultze-Naumburg also furnished his clients' homes with Kunstgewerbe objects he had commissioned or bought on his various travels. Unlike many Kunstgewerbe promoters, he was not committed to the greater goal of making Germany a global leader in cultural export.⁸⁰ Schultze-Naumburg claimed to be interested in an artists' colony when he moved from Munich to Saaleck in 1901. But the site was converted into a G.m.b.H. by 1904 with the help of businessman Fritz Kögel. With Schultze-Naumburg's increasing success, his business became divided into three departments (architecture, garden and landscape design, and interior design) and employed a staff of 70 in 1910, with showrooms and stores in Berlin, Cologne, and Essen. Commissions floundered after World War I, and the Saalecker Werkstätten were closed in 1930.⁸¹ Schultze-Naumburg was not one to rationalize culture and economics, and he was happy to attain the income level that would afford him a pseudoaristocratic lifestyle. To him, it was obvious that traditional German culture was superior, and he spent his time fighting those who called for a new culture to supplant it. It was not until the 1920s that Schultze-Naumburg concluded that only the "Nordic race" could truly appreciate German culture.

During this same period, a new discipline of sociology was emerging, driven by the same desire to understand and classify the place of the individual in society.⁸² Schultze-Naumburg's desires were parallel to those of German sociology's founders: Ferdinand Tönnies, Werner Sombart, Max Weber, and Alfred Weber, who coined the term "*Kultursoziologie*" for the

⁷⁹ Bartning (1929), p. 29.

⁸⁰ "According to Kunstgewerbe promoters, the economic and political future of Germany rested with the ability of the upper middle class to secure for itself a coherent visual identity that, once developed and perfected in the domestic arena, could be exported and marketed worldwide."

Jarzombek, Mark. "The Discourses of a Bourgeois Utopia, 1904-1908, and the Founding of the Werkbund." In: Forster-Hahn, Françoise (ed.). *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889-1910*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996, p. 129.

⁸¹ Borrmann (1989), pp. 104-5.

⁸² Schwartz identifies the most prominent sociologists that were also concerned with Kulturkritik as Max and Alfred Weber, Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, and Werner Sombart. Schwartz (1996), p. 16.

Harry Liebersohn discusses proponents of modern German sociology (Tönnies, Weber, Simmel, and Lukács).

Liebersohn, Harry. *Fate and Utopia in German Sociology, 1870-1923*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988. Also see on history of sociology:

Mitzman, Arthur. *Sociology and Estrangement. Three Sociologists of Imperial Germany*. New Brunswick/Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987,

discipline meant to elucidate social characteristics in relation to historical processes.⁸³ Norbert Elias described the development of sociology in the nineteenth century as one driven by two factions: those who saw industrialization as a positive or inevitable development (such as Marx or Engels, who in some way owed their societal position to industrialization) versus those who sought to avoid or control the societal effects of industrialization (such as Comte and others with a more established bourgeois or aristocratic background).⁸⁴

Unlike contemporary artists such as August Sander or Gerd Arntz (discussed in Chapter Two), Schultze-Naumburg was not interested in the new discipline of sociology as practiced by leftist intellectuals; that is, as an analytic universalist system that would enable a neutral analysis of society according to class. Early conservative critics of sociology such as Heinrich Treitschke feared that “social disharmony” brought about by studying “society” would lead to a destabilization of state order.⁸⁵ By the time Schultze-Naumburg was an adult, state order was already in upheaval; his desire was therefore to regain or re-establish such an order. As I will show, Schultze-Naumburg himself was very conflicted about the form this order should take. Over the course of his life, state forms changed several times. This lack of a substantive model to counter socialism led him to ardent cultural activism. Neutrality was not an option for him. Instead, he attempted to devise a comprehensible visual apparatus through which he could promote his values. He understood, maybe more so than scholarly sociologists, the need to provide simple images of society in order to construct and strengthen nationalist heritage and culture. His efforts to visualize and describe his sensation of a cultural crisis can be read as an attempt at “countersociology,” bombarding his audience with pictures and captions preempting the use of visualization by institutionalized discipline. Unlike the artists discussed later, Schultze-Naumburg never claims to show how different groups of people look and live, but rather how

⁸³ Ringer (1969), pp. 418-9.

According to Arthur Mitzman, sociologists “react[ed] against what they saw as the surrender to Bismarckian authoritarianism” and shared “a hostility to the Wilhelminian bureaucratic state.”

Mitzman (1987), p. xiv-xv.

Lichtblau, Klaus. *Kulturkrise und Soziologie um die Jahrhundertwende. Zur Genealogie der Kultursoziologie in Deutschland*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1996, p. 25.

Lichtblau describes the “cultural crisis around 1900” as “dramatic” or even “traumatic.”

⁸⁴ Elias (1969), p. XXVIII-XXXI.

⁸⁵ Internally, the antagonism of empiricist sociologists towards sociologists interested in “Gesellschafts”- and “Kulturkritik,” usually Marxist, remains pertinent after WWII.

Rehberg, Karl-Siegbert. „Deutungswissen der Moderne oder ‘administrative Hilfswissenschaft’?

Konservative Schwierigkeiten mit der Soziologie.“ In: Papecke, Sven (ed.). *Ordnung und Theorie: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Soziologie in Deutschland*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986, pp. 7-47, esp. page 33-5.

Treitschke, Heinrich von. *Die Gesellschaftswissenschaft. Ein kritischer Versuch*. C.P. Melzer: 1859.

they should live. Schultze-Naumburg was not interested in taking society's pulse or understanding its changes. His attitude was Prussian and authoritarian.⁸⁶

Schultze-Naumburg showed a similar voracity toward *anything* visual: "Die Kultur des Sichtbaren umfaßt nicht allein Häuser und Denkmäler, Brücken und Straßen, sondern auch Kleider und gesellige Formen, Forste und Viehzucht, Maschinen und Landesverteidigung."⁸⁷ The voyeuristic impulse associated with "reform" is palpable in one of Schultze-Naumburg's first books, *Die Kultur des weiblichen Körpers als Grundlage der Frauenkleidung* (*The Culture of the Female Body as a Basis for Womens' Clothing*, 1901) which parrots the language of reformist conservatives such as Karl Heinrich Stratz, who wrote *Die Frauenkleidung* in 1900. Several articles in the *Kunstwart* also called for "healthy" German women's clothing, and the promotion of "reform clothing" often went hand in hand with the call for the nudist movement.⁸⁸ Magazines such as *Ideale Nacktheit* worked hard to establish the "hygienic" benefits of nudity. While Schultze-Naumburg did not partake in or advocate the nudist movement, whose most ardent supporters hoped to wear clothing only when necessary, photographs of nudes were not entirely shocking to the German public of his day. Still, Schultze-Naumburg's photographs seem unnecessarily racy, even compared to images from *Ideale Nacktheit*. The book shows dozens of naked torsos of women, girls and even boys (cut from obviously erotic images). Copyright is given for very few images of costumes and anatomical drawings. It appears that Schultze-Naumburg took the rest of the photographs himself on his trips to Italy, judging from the dark hair, olive skin, and toga costumes of most models.⁸⁹ Schultze-Naumburg's attack is supposedly directed against the use of the corset, which he considered not just unattractive and unhealthy in that it

⁸⁶ Even in "Mein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis" Schultze-Naumburg constantly uses phrases like "felsenfeste Überzeugung" and bristly rhetorical questions: "Glaubt man wirklich im Ernst [...]?" Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Mein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis*, pp. 9, 138. Unpublished Manuscript. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlass Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Only much later did modernist artists and typographers begin to collaborate with sociologists in visually processing statistical information, for instance in the case of Gerd Arntz, who collaborated with Otto Neurath in exhibitions and publications for the mundaneum, Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum in Vienna (see Chapter Two).

⁸⁷ Preface to Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten. Vol. 1. Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen* (Second Edition). Munich: Callwey, 1922, n.p.

⁸⁸ Hamann, Richard/Hermand, Jost. *Stilkunst um 1900*. Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973, pp. 156-178.

Schneider, Uwe. "Nacktkultur im Kaiserreich." In: Puschner/Schmitz/Ulbricht (1996), pp. 411-435.

⁸⁹ Of course Schultze-Naumburg denies the pornographic nature of his images: "Ein amüsanter Bilderbuch soll es nicht sein. Ich habe dem Buch die Illustrationen beigegeben, die unentbehrlich waren, um jene plastischen Anschauungen zu erzeugen, die zum Aufbau ganz neuer Ideen vom Körper und mithin von der Kleidung notwendig sind."

Schultze-Naumburg. *Die Kultur des weiblichen Körpers als Grundlage der Frauenkleidung*. Leipzig: Diederichs, 1901, p. 6.

“might crush female fertility,” but also as a “French assault on the German national spring.”⁹⁰ For German historians in the 1970s, it was important to recognize the reactionary tendencies in the Heimatschutz movement, which by the postwar era had changed its character to form a cultural basis for the new German republic (*Heimatfilme*, etc.).⁹¹ The movement was founded by self-ascribed elites (such as Schultze-Naumburg) for whom progressive political ideas such as liberalism and socialism posed a danger to the landscape, which was intrinsically connected to the “better classes.”⁹² Indeed, the fear of dispossession could be seen as an impetus not only for the reinforcement of the fatherland myth but also the expansionism propagated later by National Socialists, which promised proletarian settlers an actual piece of fatherland.⁹³

Pedagogy and Passion: Paul Schultze-Naumburg’s *Kulturarbeiten*

The publication of books, journals, and newspapers proliferated at the beginning of the twentieth century because of legal allowances (*Reichspressegesetz* 1876), production techniques, and the economic incentives of advertisement. “*Kulturgut*” became widely accessible. According to Rüdiger vom Bruch, by 1900 these media became the place for self-portrayal, the place for the Bildungsbürgertum to assert its importance and coherence (even as these qualities actually declined).⁹⁴ The publishing and book trade industries gained exceptional importance in Germany at the turn of the century, the number of publisher increasing more than threefold to 3,293 between 1870 and 1908. The statistics were similar in the book trade. Publishers played an extensive role in influencing German cultural attitudes, and ideologically conservative publishers

⁹⁰ Birkner, Othmar. “The New Life-Style.” In: Burckhardt, p. 52.

⁹¹ One of the earliest books concerned with the climate of the Heimatschutzbewegung is *Agrarromantik und Großstadtfeindschaft* by Klaus Bergmann, who describes the Heimatschutz as a “neoromantic” fin-de-siècle phenomenon. Bergmann (1970).

⁹² “For them [the ‘better’ classes] fear of socialism took on idealistic hues: Socialism meant materialism, atheism, revolution, and above all the expropriation of all that was sacred, of property and culture.” Stern, Fritz. *Dreams and Delusions. The Drama of German History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987, p. 10.

⁹³ The lack of a traditional connection to a specific region was noted by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as an argument not for the creation of such connections but for a new kind of nationalism defined class identity instead of land: “Die Arbeiter haben kein Vaterland. Man kann ihnen nicht nehmen, was sie nicht haben.”

Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich. *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (1872). Reclam: Leipzig, 1989, p. 40.

⁹⁴ Bruch, Rüdiger vom. “Kunst- und Kulturkritik in Zeitschriften des Kaiserreichs.” In: Mai, Ekkehard/Waetzoldt, Stephan/Wolandt, Gerd (eds.). *Ideengeschichte und Kunstwissenschaft. Philosophie und bildende Kunst im Kaiserreich*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1983, pp. 313-347, esp. 314.

such as Eugen Diederichs and Julius Friedrich Lehmann invested heavily in forming these attitudes by increasing both the quantity and breadth of experimental quality in their publications.⁹⁵

By 1904, when he began writing the *Kulturarbeiten* – and certainly by 1916 when he finished them – Schultze-Naumburg was a successful artist and businessman. Still, he genuinely suffered from the visual chaos that surrounded him, and he was prepared to awaken the public to his observations and instill in society a sense of harmony.⁹⁶ In his own terms, Schultze-Naumburg did this in order to create a finer, more cultured space: a nation. The idea of taste as connected to nation, along with the notion of taste as something “grown” and refined within certain national limits, is parallel to the development of nationalism.⁹⁷ Taste was not a private matter but rather an “ethical quality.”⁹⁸

The training of taste became very important around turn of century, not least out of desire to mold coming generations and to strengthen and improve one’s own material world:

Es bleibt eine der merkwürdigsten Erscheinungen der europäischen Geistesgeschichte um die Wende des 20. Jahrhunderts, wie plötzlich in England, Deutschland, Österreich sich das ästhetische Gewissen regte. Der Ausdruck enthält eine innere Paradoxie, deren Verständnis ihm erst seine volle Bedeutung gibt: was sich regte, war das Gewissen im eigentlichen Sinne, also das soziale Gewissen, das gesellschaftliche oder moralische... aber es war gestachelt vom ästhetischen Mißbehagen. Das Bürgertum sah alles an, was es gemacht hatte, und siehe, es war alles häßlich.⁹⁹

The authoritarian version of this desire, *Kunsterziehung*, was successfully taught in the public school system.¹⁰⁰ Schultze-Naumburg and many of his peers were not interested in providing

⁹⁵ Gary Stark has published extensive statistics and tables concerning these publishers. His study of conservative publishers gives substantial insight into this topic.

Stark, Gary. *Entrepreneurs of Ideology: Neoconservative Publishers in Germany, 1890-1933*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

⁹⁶ Siefert (1984), p. 199.

⁹⁷ The desire to be a “leading nation” is expressed perhaps most explicitly by Hermann Muthesius: “Indessen möchte man fast sagen, daß die Früchte des Handelns nicht einmal die wertvollsten sind, die geschmacklich führendes Volk einheimst. Wichtiger als Geld ist Ansehen, höher als Reichtum steht Achtung, am höchsten Liebe. Und alles das wird einem Volk entgegengebracht, das in Kunstdingen den Weg zeigt. [...] Es gilt vielmehr die Welt zu beherrschen, mehr als sie zu finanzieren, sie mit Waren und Gütern zu überschwemmen. Es gilt, ihr das Gesicht zu geben. Erst das Volk, das diese Tat vollbringt, steht wahrhaft an der Spitze der Welt, und Deutschland muß dieses Volk werden.”

Muthesius, Hermann. “Die Zukunft der Deutschen Form” (1915). Reprinted in: Posener, Julius. *Anfänge des Funktionalismus. Bauwelt Fundamente. No. 11*. Braunschweig/Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1964, p. 41-2.

⁹⁸ Posener (1979), p. 28.

⁹⁹ Schwab, Alexander. “Typen einer Theorie des Städtebaus.” *Die Form. Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit*, vol. 5 (1930), p. 521.

educational materials and models for children, but they frequently used descriptions of children exploring the landscape and discovering its “treasures.”¹⁰¹ Children served as figures in a romantic scene; more importantly, though, the light-hearted leisure activities (never work) that the children are involved in serve as class indicators, implicit means for Schultze-Naumburg to construct his own heritage.¹⁰² In his recollections to Kurt Hennemeyer, Schultze-Naumburg stated that his family had owned a country estate outside of Naumburg, where he claimed to have inhabited a “wonderfully colorful... empire of childhood.” Oddly, there seem to have been no traces of this estate even in the 1940s when Hennemeyer’s text was written. Schultze-Naumburg also claims to have developed the habit of classifying houses according to the impression they left on him: houses could be either “indifferent” or “natural and beautiful,” the latter of which he dubbed the “happy houses” (“*glückliche Häuser*”).¹⁰³ It might have surprised even Schultze-Naumburg how quickly the fine arts became ubiquitous and subject to mass discourse, but for him the mass production of applied arts and architecture, which Schultze-Naumburg identified as a modern problem, fueled his desire to address these “problems.”¹⁰⁴ He mentions fine arts only as a means of home decorating in the *Kulturarbeiten*.¹⁰⁵ His writings about the arts are neither

¹⁰⁰ The topic of Kunsterziehung has been addressed by several authors. The groundbreaking work covering the topic, Diethart Kerbs’ extensive 1970 compilation *Historische Kunstpädagogik* reflects the era’s involvement with issues concerning social history and pedagogy. Kerbs identifies many aspects of artpedagogical theory between 1876 and 1967 according to different leitmotifs.

Kerbs, Diethart (ed.). *Historische Kunstpädagogik. Quellenlage, Forschungsstand, Dokumentation*. Cologne: DuMont, 1970, esp. pp. 125-135.

Joerßen, Peter. *Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland 1871-1918*. Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau, 1979.

Hein, Peter Ulrich. *Transformationen der Kunst: Ziele und Wirkungen der deutschen Kultur- und Kunsterziehungsbewegung*. Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau, 1991.

¹⁰¹ Childhood education was an important aspect within early twentieth century reform pedagogy. Gisela Wilkending has studied the mediation of literary subjects to children in Hamburg.

Wilkending, Gisela. *Volksbildung und Pädagogik vom Kinde aus*. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz, 1980.

¹⁰² M. J. Maynes analyzes this distinguishing aspect of class in Imperial Germany lower-class childhood memoirs.

Mayne, M.J. “Childhood Memories, Political Visions, and Working-Class Formation in Imperial Germany.” In: Eley (2000), p. 148.

Schultze-Naumburg’s childhood was, in his own words, not carefree, but supposedly tainted by the father’s mood swings due to his unsuccessful artistic career.

Hennemeyer, Kurt. „Naumburger Jugenderinnerungen eines deutschen Künstlers Prof. Dr. h.c. Paul Schultze-Naumburg.“ In: *Saalecker Werkstätten Schriftenreihe. Vol. 1*. Bad Kösen: Mächler, 1999, p. 21.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 24-25.

Schultze-Naumburg also claims that he came in contact with Friedrich Nietzsche as a child, since he would come to his house to pick up his father for walks.

Pese, Claus. „Weh dem, der keine Heimat hat!“ In: *Saalecker Werkstätten. Schriftenreihe. Vol. 2*. Bad Kösen: Mächler, 2000, p. 5-6.

Pese cites from the *Lebenserinnerungen*. Unpublished Manuscript. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlass Paul Schultze-Naumburg.

¹⁰⁴ Hein (1991), p. 13.

sophisticated nor informed; they have no connection with the refined theories of the increasingly professionalized field of art criticism led by art historians such as Alois Riegl and Erwin Panofsky. Nor does he formulate an aesthetic or “taste” theory by invoking figures such as Schiller. Instead, Schultze-Naumburg believed that photography would be the most effective tool in revolutionizing culture. Even in his 1948 work the *Lebenserinnerungen*, he explains the basic principle of his method, the juxtaposition of images of “good” and “bad”:

In meinen vielen Büchern zur Erziehung eines gesunden Bauempfindens habe ich die Methode angewendet, neben einer guten auch die schlechte Lösung einer Bauaufgabe zu zeigen und so im Bilde gegenüberzustellen, so daß auch das ungeübte Auge sogleich wahrnehmen mußte, worauf es ankam.¹⁰⁶

In the most stringent application of this principle, there are two images on a spread, each filling an entire page. Often the positive example, the “Beispiel,” is on the left page, while the negative example, the so-called “Gegenbeispiel,” is on the right side of the spread (fig. 1.1).¹⁰⁷

The most important and well-known precedent for Schultze-Naumburg’s use of the juxtaposition of positive vs. negative examples would have been Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin’s (1812-52) book *Contrasts* (full title: *Contrasts; or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste: Accompanied by Appropriate Text*), first published in 1836.¹⁰⁸ Schultze-Naumburg could have been familiar with Pugin’s work through the publication of the politician (and popular supporter of the Cologne cathedral) August Reichensperger, who published a book about Welby in 1877.¹⁰⁹ The method was later also used by Heimatkundler Heinrich Sohnrey in

¹⁰⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Mein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis – Bausünden*, p. 383.

Unpublished Manuscript. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlass Paul Schultze-Naumburg.

¹⁰⁷ This is stringently applied in *Kulturarbeiten* 1. In later editions, he uses more or only positive examples (i.e. “Kleinbürgerhäuser”). He might also think he is able to build on readers’ “image library” after the success of the first volumes.

Schultze-Naumburg later said, he increasingly used less “negative” examples in the *Kulturarbeiten*, he claims he does not want to “race the system to death.”

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten. Vol. 6. Das Schloß*. Munich: Callwey, 1910, n.p.

¹⁰⁸ Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore. *Contrasts; or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste: Accompanied by Appropriate Text*. Salisbury, 1836.

On Pugin:

Stanton, Phoebe. *Pugin*. New York: Viking Press, 1972.

¹⁰⁹ Reichensperger, August. *Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, der Neubegründer der christlichen Kunst in England : Zugleich zur Frage von der Wiederbelebung der Kunst und des Kunsthandwerks in Deutschland*. Freiburg: Herder, 1877.

his manual *Kunst auf dem Lande*, in which he provided the captions “Wird nicht empfohlen” or “Gutes Beispiel” to images.¹¹⁰

Like many other books by populist dilettantes, the *Kulturarbeiten* were immensely successful. Fritz Stern describes the psychological state of several authors with similar backgrounds (petty-bourgeois Bildungsbürgertum) and careers (usually as failed academics) as rife with feelings of inferiority, cultural pessimism, and heightened “*Sendungsbewußtsein*.”¹¹¹ Schultze-Naumburg was highly successful and relatively moderate compared to these highly publicized and famous authors. By contrast, one of the best selling cultural books of the late nineteenth century was the anonymously published *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, which was published in 1890 and sold 66,000 copies within a year.¹¹² Its author, art historian Julius Langbehn, was called the “*Rembrandtdeutsche*” and was also famous for demanding guardianship over Friedrich Nietzsche from his mother.¹¹³ In the late 1960s, during the heyday of German pedagogical revision in keeping with a generally emancipatory atmosphere, all conservative early twentieth-century pedagogues were simply considered “irrational,” while modernists such as Alfred Lichtwark and Bauhaus members were considered “rational.”¹¹⁴

Adelheid von Saldern described the paradoxes surrounding the elitism of artists about their Romantic nationalism: “Unaufgelöst blieb der Widerspruch, daß die Künstler Träger einer nationalen Kultur sein wollten, sich aber zugleich von den breiten Schichten der Bevölkerung

¹¹⁰ Sohnrey, Heinrich (ed.). *Kunst auf dem Lande*. Bielefeld: Velhagen & Clasing, 1905.

The method of juxtaposing strong images as a means of forming opinion became common for major political polemics of all convictions during the Weimar Republic. Dora Apel describes the “antiwar visual campaign” of the Weimar Republic, exemplified by the 1924 book *Krieg dem Kriege* by Ernst Friedrich. On the cover of the book, images of soldierly comradeship and folly are juxtaposed with images of maimed and dead soldiers.

Apel, Dora. “Cultural Battlegrounds: Weimar Narratives of War.” *New German Critique* 76 (1996), pp. 49-84.

¹¹¹ Stern (1987), p. 276.

¹¹² Langbehn (1922).

According to Adelheid von Saldern, it is the publication of “*Rembrandt als Erzieher*” that starts the discussion on “Volkspädagogik.”

Saldern, Adelheid von. “Kunst für’s Volk.” In: Marbolek/Wildt (1999), p. 173.

¹¹³ There are many studies on the phenomenon of Langbehn and his “*Rembrandt als Erzieher*.”

Despite its suggestion that Langbehn was a ridiculous parvenu mainly due to his petty-bourgeois heritage Fritz Stern’s study of Langbehn remains important. Peter Ulrich Hein adds complexity to the discussion about Langbehn through comparisons with works by Georg Simmel and Thomas Mann.

Stern (1987), pp. 95-180.

Hein (1991), pp. 59-102.

¹¹⁴ Otto, Gunter. “Kunst und Kunsterziehung im industriellen Zeitalter.” In: Ellwein, Thomas et al. (eds.). *Erziehungswissenschaftliches Handbuch. Band I: Das Erziehen als gesellschaftliches Phänomen*. Berlin: Rembrandt, 1969, pp. 227-281.

absonderten.”¹¹⁵ Schultze-Naumburg solved this conflict: he simply stopped being an artist and until 1928 did not deal with fine arts, concerning himself only with applied arts and architecture (“culture”). As an architect and cultural critic, he still did consider himself part of an elite, but he fashioned himself as a “savior” of Germany, a leader of the movement against cultural and national decline for the good of *all* Germans. He was convinced that with the right pedagogical method, he would convince readers of all classes of his noble convictions:

Aber der Zweck der Veröffentlichung ist, denen die Augen zu öffnen, die noch ganz fernab stehen, denen noch nichts von der Erkenntnis dämmert, dass das Urteil unseres bewußten Anschauens nicht allein ‘schön und hässlich’ lautet, sondern ‘gut und schlecht’, in beiderlei Sinn, nämlich ‘praktisch brauchbar’ und ‘unbrauchbar’ und ‘moralisch gut und schlecht’ und dass das Auge sein Urteil nicht vom Sprachdenken zu beziehen braucht, in dem wir das einzig ‘logische’ Denken zu erblicken gewöhnt sind. Auch das Auge vermag logische Schlüsse zu ziehen.¹¹⁶

But Schultze-Naumburg was also aware that any elite needed a stable societal system in order to be permanently installed: the identification with a culture defined by the elite could be an important part of nation-building, both he and Ernst Rudorff believed.

Schultze-Naumburg’s pedagogical ambitions were shared by many others, most notably the publisher Karl Robert Langewiesche, who began publishing the highly successful “Blaue Bücher” in 1911. The “Blaue Bücher” remain the most consistent series dedicated to architectural and landscape photography in Germany after 1910. Langewiesche, the son of a bookseller in the small town of Rheydt, began publishing books in 1902. Schultze-Naumburg had already begun working with Callwey on the *Kulturarbeiten* by the time Langewiesche founded his company, and it seems that he and Schultze-Naumburg never crossed paths, but the *Kulturarbeiten* could have been an inspiration for Langewiesche’s program. In Langewiesche’s introductory letter to booksellers, he described his aim as the production of “fine mass-produced articles” (*vornehme Massenartikel*) that were “diligently designed, but cheap.”¹¹⁷ Langewiesche was oriented “deutschnational” and sought to strengthen German culture in sectors of the population that he

¹¹⁵ Saldern, Adelheid von. “Kunst für’s Volk.” In: MarBolek/Wildt (1999), p. 173.

Von Saldern also refers to Peter Bürger.

Bürger, Peter. *Theorie der Avantgarde*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1982, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ Preface to Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten Vol. 1. Hausbau*. Munich: Georg D.W. Callwey, 1901, n.p.

¹¹⁷ Introductory letter to booksellers, May 5, 1902. Langewiesche’s letter is reprinted in Gabriele Klempert’s introductory history of Langewiesche’s publishing house.

Klempert, Gabriele. “Die Welt des Schönen.” *Eine hundertjährige Verlagsgeschichte in Deutschland: Die Blauen Bücher 1902-2002*. Königstein im Taunus: Karl Robert Langewiesche Nachfolger Hans Köster, 2002, p. 32.

considered uneducated.¹¹⁸ He had, however, unlike Schultze-Naumburg and other nationalistic publishers, a hard time hiding his disdain for the “uneducated.” Langewiesche liked to muse about a wide-reaching concept of “German culture,” but his first publication was a collection of essays by Victorian writer Thomas Carlyle entitled *Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln*. The book contains essays in which Carlyle dissuades readers from writing, insisting instead that they are “not intended by nature to read and write, but to work.”¹¹⁹ The appeal of Carlyle’s text must have been the heroicism of such rhetoric, since it was re-edited several times and sold over 300,000 copies in Germany by 1942.¹²⁰ Langewiesche’s next book, published in 1903, was a selection of works by Martin Luther which Langewiesche, in his offer to booksellers, sneered would be “too strong for coffeehouse literates and extreme hypermoderns.”¹²¹ The impression of World War I led Langewiesche to fulfill his patriotic duty with the book *Die schöne Heimat. Bilder aus Deutschland*, originally intended for Germans abroad but published in 1915 as a souvenir for German soldiers. Langewiesche solicited photos such as the image showing the back of Goethe’s garden house behind a fence from amateur photo clubs, photo archives, and commercial photo agencies nationwide (fig. 1.2). The book was re-edited several times until 1941 and several more times between 1952 and 1970. By 1971, it had sold over 600,000 copies.¹²²

The publication of picture books was considered a serious and worthwhile endeavour not only by publishers but also by acclaimed scholars. Incidentally, one of the first very popular architecture picture books was published by Wilhelm Pinder, whom Frederic Schwartz describes as “perhaps one of the most influential and widely read art historians in Germany from the 1910s through the Second World War.”¹²³ Pinder’s 1910 publication *Deutsche Dome des Mittelalters* was already a bestseller shortly after its publication, and by 1969 it had sold almost 500,000

¹¹⁸ Introductory letter to booksellers, May 5, 1902.

Klempert (2002), p. 31.

¹¹⁹ Carlyle, Thomas. *Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln*. Königstein: Langewiesche, 1902.

The title of the book is from citation by Carlyle at his inaugural address as Lord Rector at the University of Edinburgh on April 2, 1866, where Carlyle recited his own translation of Goethe’s poem *Symbolum*. The last line of the poem is originally the much less calvinist “Wir heissen Euch hoffen.”

¹²⁰ Langewiesche’s idea of workers was most likely influenced by the sobering socioeconomic study “Die Industrie am Niederrhein” by a professor of economics in Basel, Alphons Thun. Thun, Alphons. *Die Industrie am Niederrhein*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1879.

According to Gabriele Klempert, Langewiesche owned this book.

Klempert (2002), p. 20.

¹²¹ Citation from offer to booksellers, January 1903.

Reprinted in

Klempert (2002), p. 54.

¹²² Klempert (2002), pp. 84, 221.

¹²³ Schwartz, Frederic. *Blind Spots. Critical Theory and the History of Art in Twentieth-Century Germany*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 108-9.

copies. According to Gabriele Klempert, Langewiesche and Pinder wanted to make medieval architecture accessible through “*Einführung*,” not through text.¹²⁴

Joseph August Lux, a friend of Paul Schultze-Naumburg’s, illustrated his publication on bourgeois taste, *Die Stadtwohnung*, with photographs of interior designs by Schultze-Naumburg such as his living room corner, which featured an enormous stuffed sofa with flowerprint covers and large floral wallpaper. Lux was similarly enthralled with the possibilities the Kodak would hold for the documentation of the rural townscape.¹²⁵ In his article “*Amateurphotographie und Heimatkunde*,” he borrows language from Schultze-Naumburg when he speaks of the “amplified joy of life of a builder” (“*gesteigerte Lebensfreude des Baumeisters*”) in reference to a house that would be particularly important to document photographically. Lux, however, was not as keen on taking these photographs himself. Instead, his article proposes that amateur photographers form “Camera-Klubs” in order to produce local archives. Lux implied that amateur photographers should photograph their local environment precisely *because* of the artistic intent that amateur photographs often show. This artistic ambition, tasteless in connection with portrait photographs, was acceptable and even useful in the depiction of local scenes because it could imbue the vernacular with “artistic relevance.”¹²⁶

Schultze-Naumburg himself claimed to have been convinced of the rigorous documentary value of his own photographs: “Ein solcher Vorwurf [der Manipulation] wäre ja allein schon durch den Beweis zu entkräften, daß die Abbildungen Lichtbilder sind, die naturgemäß der Wirklichkeit entsprechen müssen.”¹²⁷ Surprisingly, Julius Posener describes Schultze-Naumburg’s amateurishly fabricated and composed photos as “Kunstwerke der Photographie.”¹²⁸

¹²⁴Klempert (2002), pp. 72-4.

¹²⁵ Lux, Joseph August/Warnatsch, Max. *Die Stadtwohnung. Wie man sie praktisch, schön und preiswert einrichtet und gut erhält*. Berlin-Charlottenburg: Max Teschner Verlag, 1910, n.p.

For more on Joseph August Lux and his theory of photography see Mark Jarzombek’s articles:

Jarzombek, Mark. “Joseph August Lux: Theorizing Early Amateur Photography—In Search of a ‘Catholic Something’.” *Centropa. Journal of European Architecture and Art*, vol. 4, no. 1 (January 2004), pp. 80-87.

Jarzombek, Mark. “Joseph August Lux. Werkbund Promoter, Historian of Lost Modernity.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 63, no. 2 (June 2004), pp. 202-219.

¹²⁶Lux, Joseph August. “Amateurphotographie und Heimatkunst.” In: Lux, Joseph August. *Der Geschmack im Alltag. Ein Buch zur Pflege des Schönen*. Dresden: Verlag Gerhard Küthmann, 1908, pp. 205-8.

¹²⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Mein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis*. n.p. Unpublished Manuscript.

Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlass Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison confirm that around 1900, the photograph was seen “as the very symbol of neutral, exquisitely detailed truth.”

Daston, Lorraine/Galison, Peter. “The Image of Objectivity.” *Representations* 40 (Autumn 1992), p. 111.

¹²⁸ Posener estimates that Schultze-Naumburg must have taken at least three thousand photos for the *Kulturarbeiten*, since most of the photos are by him. Very few images are from other sources, such as Otto Bartning, Hermann Muthesius, and various prints featuring tourist destinations. Posener (1979), p. 191.

Schultze-Naumburg, however, claimed not to want his photographs understood as artworks, possibly because he ridiculed “artistic” ambitions of architects as blasé, unserious, and essentially careeristic. In his only photography manual of sorts, *Bildmäßige Photographie*, Schultze-Naumburg dates the origin of his idea to “use photos to as a tool in my artpedagogical writings” to the late Nineties of the nineteenth century. Schultze-Naumburg describes how he first wanted to draw “Beispiele und “Gegenbeispiel” but then realized that this method would cause illustrations “to be skewed according to the personal hand of the illustrator. Only an entirely impartial image would be remorseless and convincing. And this was only accomplished with the photograph.” At the same time, Schultze-Naumburg describes the use of filters and various lenses to manipulate the effect of adverse weather.¹²⁹ The *Kulturarbeiten* contain about 2,500 photographs, most made by Schultze-Naumburg himself.¹³⁰ The photographs appear poorly made: some images are out of focus, the composition is haphazard, and the photos are taken in all sorts of weather, sometimes with strong shadows. Of course, Schultze-Naumburg used the “unartistic” aesthetic on purpose in order to emphasize that his photographs were documentary and his intentions were “honest”— i.e., he was not secretly hoping to be recognized for the artistic quality of his photographs. Schultze-Naumburg used technology in order to recreate his reactionary world vision for his readers.

Even the motifs for Schultze-Naumburg’s photographs were not planned, and he put little effort into finding locations. From the list of 100 motifs in the image volume *Gärten*, it is obvious that there is no systematic order to the photographs’ location; order is only somewhat grouped around architectural features (stairs, terraces, et cetera).¹³¹ In addition, Schultze-Naumburg’s

¹²⁹ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Bildmäßige Photographie*. Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1938, pp. 3, 6.

¹³⁰ Schultze-Naumburg apparently declined the publishing house’s (Callwey) offer to pay for a professional photographer to accompany him on his travels.

Borrmann (1989), p. 26.

Most of Schultze-Naumburg’s photographs were lost after the war. A collection of several hundred negatives of Italian landscapes for a book project on Italy still exist and are housed at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg.

¹³¹ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten Ergänzende Bilder zu Band II, Gärten*. Munich: Callwey, 1904.

Photos in *Gärten* often also include an arbitrary female figure (maybe his wife) in conservative elegant clothing, as if he was also taking some portraits while traveling to make photos.

An anecdote by a family friend further tells of Schultze-Naumburg’s casual approach to collecting evidence:

“Von meinen persönlichen Erinnerungen an Ihren Vater will ich nur zwei erwähnen. Da war einmal mein Besuch in Saaleck 1920 (nicht 1917 wie sie schreiben). [...] das zweite Erlebnis lag früher, etwa 1916/17. Der ‘werte Meister’ war damals zu Gast in Hackhausen bei ‘Onkel August’. Er berichtete, dass er an einem Buch arbeite, in dem er gute und schlechte Architekturen im Bild gegeneinanderstellen wolle. Er war ja selbst nebstbei auch ein Pionier der Fotografie. Es fehlten ihm aber noch Beispiele für ‘schlechte Architektur’. Oh, sagte da mein Vater, da gehen sie mal nach Ohligs. In dieser Goldgräberstadt finden Sie

“examples” are highly manipulated through photographic processing, setting, and composition: in most cases, the negative examples have little focus or contrast, “messy” or crowded settings, and monotone, overcast skies. By contrast, positive examples have crisp, clean contrasts, and feature individual buildings from an attractive viewpoint in the sunlight. Many images have been strongly retouched, and some are taken from postcards. A comparison of two courtyards, for instance, shows an image of a “bad” courtyard, purposely darkened, juxtaposed with an image of a “good” courtyard that appears much lighter and has been retouched at the outlines (fig. 1.3).¹³² Often negative “angular” shapes can be found in the counterexamples (such as a new wood fence with barbed wire), while his positive examples generally depict softer, endearing forms such as old crooked fences, run-down framework buildings, and roof tiles that have sunken to reveal the shape of underlying beams. In his texts, Schultze-Naumburg provides either a wordy exposition of the circumstances these façades signify for him, or else a glorification of the “character” expressed in them.

It is precisely because of this lack of “rigor” that Schultze-Naumburg’s visual material does not form universal visual “rules.” Often his juxtapositions make no sense whatsoever. His verbose descriptions and valuations of buildings are thus entirely necessary. Two images of virtually identical plain rural houses, for instance, both plastered and with pitched roofs but photographed from a different angle (one from the side and one from the corner of the gable wall) are described by Schultze-Naumburg as completely different with regards to their “expression.” Both houses only take up a small part of the image, which consists mainly of landscape. The negative example (the corner view) shows only a small part of the building. Schultze-Naumburg writes that “anyone with even just the most general image of our culture will immediately be able to tell that one building is from older times, while the other was built in the last decades.”¹³³ Nominally, Schultze-Naumburg appeals to his readers’ historical sense, but in fact he leads them through his impressions. Indeed, Schultze-Naumburg conceded that for many it was not possible to *understand* his system intellectually, as he has detected a “strange malfunction” (“*sonderbare Funktionsstörung*”) between the senses and the inner spirit of Germans, which caused the deterioration of the exterior world.¹³⁴ The true quality of this exterior world can only be sensed

reichlich Beispiele [sic]. Und so zogen Ihr Vater und ich einen Vormittag kreuz und quer durch Ohligs und fanden die Horreur’lies [sic] and jeder Ecke.”

Letter from Dr. Hans von Recklinghausen, Nussbaumstrasse 97a, Solingen-Ohligs to Eva Castenauer February 11, 1982, p. 2. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlass Paul Schultze-Naumburg.

¹³² Schultze-Naumburg (1906), pp. 122-3.

¹³³ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kunst und Rasse* (1928). Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1938, pp. 132, 135.

¹³⁴ Schultze-Naumburg (1901), p. 23.

through some kind of lost ocular empathy: “Überall war geweihte Stätte, aber: man wusste es nicht allein, sondern man sah es, man fühlte es mit den Augen.”¹³⁵

At a cost of only 3 Marks per copy, the *Kulturarbeiten* were inexpensive and gave many viewers the opportunity to learn to “feel with the eyes,” even if they would have to read the captions to distinguish the “good” from the “bad” examples. (Since the readers were not adequately educated yet, the images usually had captions.) Schultze-Naumburg professed to be driven by egalitarian pedagogic impulses in making his books financially and intellectually accessible to a mass audience:

Die Bücher wenden sich auch nicht ausschliesslich an die, die sich ‘die Gebildeten’ nennen, sondern unser Wunsch ist es, das Volk zu gewinnen, den kleinen Bürger, die Bauern, die Arbeiter, diejenigen, die am nachhaltigsten an der Umgestaltung des Antlitzes unseres Landes thätig sind. Man wird mir sagen: Die lesen doch keine Bücher. Ich entgegne: Man muss die Bücher eben derartig unter das Volk zu bringen suchen, *dass* sie sie lesen können. Die Statistik unserer Volksbibliotheken spricht für uns. Im übrigen soll man uns doch ein anderes erreichbares Mittel sagen, mit dem man heut *besser* als mit billigen Büchern und Abbildungen auf breite Massen wirken kann. Natürlich, die Bewegung mit fortreissen kann erst die Bethätigung, die dann zur Nachahmung verführt. Aber sie liegt nicht in meiner Macht und so muss ich mich damit begnügen, in ort und Bild zur Bethätigung zu überreden.¹³⁶

Considering his normally scorching criticism of consumer behaviors and attitudes, he exhibited a remarkable sensitivity toward lower-income readers. In his introductory text to volume number five of the *Kulturarbeiten*, *Kleinbürgerhäuser*, Schultze-Naumburg blamed modernist architects for the “*Jämmerlichkeit*” of contemporary low-income housing but showed only photographs of positive examples. He never criticized anyone for not having the means to buy tasteful furniture. Unlike his modernist counterparts, however, Schultze-Naumburg did not promote the mass-production of inexpensive but tasteful goods, but instead offered helpful suggestions and encouragement on how to refurbish “good quality” old items. Schultze-Naumburg’s catering to the lower classes through his texts, visual method, and means of distribution was most likely also driven by the very real fear of socialism. If the lower class treasured its national heritage and industrialization was vilified, it would be less susceptible to leftist ideology.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

¹³⁶ Ibid., n.p. (preface).

¹³⁷ Right-wing Eugen Diederichs even attempted to “de-proletarize” workers and shortly allied himself with socialist revisionists. Stark (1981).

Mark Jarzombek called attention to the far-reaching goals and the ambivalence of the cultural reform movements, with their aim to achieve “a happy and well-ordered society” through aesthetic education.¹³⁸ Volker Berghahn described the eminent importance of class consciousness and perception in Imperial Germany, in which “sociocultural... barriers” were one of the main obstacles for upward social mobility, particularly because of their elusiveness: “The mechanisms of social and cultural stratification in Wilhelmine Germany were fairly subtle. Furthermore, they were not merely rooted in tangible differentiations of wealth, income and power... but also in perceptions of class and status of one group by another.”¹³⁹ Even more so, the German bourgeoisie had no consistent, reliable image of itself. Schultze-Naumburg’s visualizations can be read as an attempt to solve this dilemma and make class transparent. He formed an image not of how the architecture of the Bildungsbürgertum class is, but how it would like to be. The Bildungsbürgertum was just on the rise when disintegration started, so it had no chance to create “architecture,” lacking the opportunity to gain capital. Even in cases when financial means were available, the process of building was expedited by following formulaic decorative programs, not the careful and comprehensive design processes Schultze-Naumburg called for.

Schultze-Naumburg was interested in forming the taste of the bourgeois classes to emulate what he considered superior taste (fig. 1.4). The aspiration to upper-middle-class ideals is even more remarkable considering that many of the Werkbund founders were not part of this class at all but were instead (like Muthesius) descendants of the petty bourgeoisie, whose cultural values were no longer in vogue. That is to say, there was a rift between the “propertied” and educated and the *merely* educated classes, who fantasized about values that would have fit the propertied classes.¹⁴⁰ Schultze-Naumburg wanted the propertied (as well as the merely educated)

¹³⁸ Jarzombek, Mark. “The Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 7-19.

Jarzombek, Mark. “The Discourses of a Bourgeois Utopia, 1904-1908, and the Founding of the Werkbund.” In: Forster-Hahn, Françoise (ed.). *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889-1910*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996, pp. 127-42.

¹³⁹ Berghahn (1982), p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Many important studies have made great contributions to understanding and defining late nineteenth century German bourgeoisie and its economic, social, and cultural circumstances. Most also address its heterogeneity, that can only fully be appreciated in its complexity through the study of specific subjects or persons.

Schoenbaum, David. *Hitler’s Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany 1933-1939*. New York: Doubleday, 1966.

Ringer (1969), esp. p 1-13.

Wehler, Hans-Ulrich. *Das deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1918*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973.

Hamann/Hermand (1973).

Vondung (1976).

Blackbourne, David/Eley, Geoff. *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

class to become pseudo-aristocratic, with a hereditary and self-evident claim to customs, formalities, and education. While many bourgeois tried to gain cultural capital (*Bildungsbürgertum*), its cachet at the same time dropped. Schultze-Naumburg realized this, so it must have seemed futile to create a culture for the bourgeoisie. Attempts to do so, for instance in the decoration of *Gründerzeitbauten*, had merely led to a consumerist frenzy in purchasing and attaching mass-produced stucco, tin, and wood accoutrements to the insides and outsides of their dwellings: these products were “*gestanzt, gefräst, gegossen*,” much to Schultze-Naumburg’s embarrassment.¹⁴¹ It seemed, however, not necessarily the act of imitation that bothered Schultze-Naumburg, but its obvious cheapness, manifested through the cheap materials of embellishment. In an odd identification with his bourgeois class, Schultze-Naumburg instead emphatically suggested that the upper-middle classes should strive to become a new quasi-aristocratic class by assimilation through culture. “True” culture was not material but intellectual culture. Schultze-Naumburg’s desire to redefine aristocracy was echoed by contemporaries: the publisher Eugen Diederichs claimed that what was really important was the “nobility of the soul.”¹⁴² Schultze-Naumburg was less worried about the lower classes, who, he suggested, should humbly remain in their place and follow a simple cultural tradition based on handicraft.

Schultze-Naumburg himself was infatuated with aristocracy.¹⁴³ The changing of his name from the very ordinary Paul Schultze to the loftier Schultze-Naumburg is obviously an attempt to

Conze, Werner and Kocka, Jürgen (eds.). *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. Teil 1: Bildungsbürgertum und Professionalisierung in internationalen Vergleichen*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985. Blackbourne, David and Evans, Richard (eds.). *The German Bourgeoisie. Essays on the social history from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

¹⁴¹ Sieferle (1984), p. 175.

Schultze-Naumburg describes the Gründerzeit-decorations as torturous: “[...] dank der Unfähigkeit an sich schöne Bauten entstehen zu lassen, die dann die Unschönheit derselben mit tausend rasch und billig hergestellten Schmuck- und Einzelformen verdecken möchte. Mit dem Gelde, was all dieser Formenunfug gekostet hat, könnten alle Wohnhausbauten der nächsten zehn Jahre bestritten werden, während die von ihrem Wust befreiten Häuser unser Auge weniger quälen würden.”

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Die Einrichtung des Wohnhauses*. Munich: Callwey, 1922, p. 5.

¹⁴² Diederichs, Eugen. “Vom Adel deutscher Seele.” In: Diederichs, Eugen. *Politik des Geistes*, Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1920, pp. 57-58.

Diederichs, who was also from Naumburg and knew Ferdinand Avenarius, was the publisher of Schultze-Naumburg’s first book *Häusliche Kunstpflege*, in 1899.

Diederichs had also published an extensive, but economically disastrous 12-volume series between 1899 and 1905, the *Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte*. There were few buyers for the expensive volumes that contained lithographs, sketches and photographs.

Stark (1981).

The topic of aristocratization through cultural, intellectual or social merit was seriously and extensively discussed, for instance in the journal “Die Tat.”

Alafberg, Diedrich. “Die Aristokratie des Geistes.” *Die Tat* 4 (1913), pp 662-668.

¹⁴³ Mark Jarzombek cites Alfred Lichtwark’s fearful statement that “the cultural inheritance of the aristocracy will be lost forever” unless education and culture became deeply engrained in the middle class –

ennoble himself.¹⁴⁴ According to Norbert Borrmann, Paul Schultze-Naumburg claims in the unpublished *Lebenserinnerungen* that Gottfried von Schadow had given the name to his father in art school in order to avoid confusion with another student called Schultze.¹⁴⁵ Schultze-Naumburg also makes a point of dedicating his books to aristocratic friends.¹⁴⁶ The paradigm of architecture for him was the castle, and he simply avoided the fact that few castles were still being built.¹⁴⁷ The idolization of aristocracy was shared by many members of the Bildungsbürgertum who apparently felt they had not yet reached their full potential in succeeding aristocrats as the bearers of culture. But Schultze-Naumburg reached the level of *Groschenroman* phantasies, populating those phantasies with specific descriptions of people and their eminence:

Mit dem Wort Schloss ist in unserem Volkstum eine ganz gewisse Vorstellung verbunden, die sich zwar nicht rasch mit zwei Worten definieren lässt, die aber trotzdem von allen unbewusst so klar gefühlt wird, dass das Wort Schloss bei einem jeden ganze bestimmte Bilder hervorruft. Bilder von etwas Schönerem, Freierem und Herrlicherem, das den Rahmen zu edelstem Lebensgenuss bilden kann, das sich unserer Phantasie bevölkert mit schönen

fast.

Lichtwark, Alfred. "Aus Berlin." *Pan*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1898), p. 66. Cited in Jarzombek, Mark. "The Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 53, no. 1, p. 10.

Schultze-Naumburg was, by the way, married four times for unknown or undisclosed reasons. Only his last marriage with Charlotte Ulrich produced children (three). His previous three marriages seem to have remained childless, which must have been unbearable for Schultze-Naumburg given his obsession with lineage and genetic supremacy. The wives were: Ernestine Mack, married c. 1900-1922; Marie Wahnschaffe, married 1922-1932; Margarete Dörr, married between 1932 and 8.3.34, and Charlotte Ulrich.¹⁴⁴ It is not clear when Schultze-Naumburg changed his name. Though he claims to have "inherited" it from his father, he signed a 1903 letter to Richard Riemerschmid with "Paul Schultze."

Letter from Schultze-Naumburg to Richard Riemerschmid, not dated, possibly ca. 1903 judging from similar stationery. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid.

Fritz Stern writes that such a valorization of names was a rather common trend among conservatives. Stern (1987), p. 11.

It is obvious that "everyone" knew of the deliberate name change. Oskar Schlemmer, whose murals in the Weimar art academy building were painted over in October 1930 under Schultze-Naumburg's reign, writes: "Von welcher Seite dieser spezielle Zug der Zeit nun entfacht wurde, vom Direktor Schultze, geborener Naumburg, oder von der Frickatelle [Wilhelm Frick, NSDAP Reichsinnenminister between 1933 and 1943] des Kulturministeriums aus, entzieht sich meiner Kenntnis."

Schlemmer, Oskar. Letter to Paul Westheim, October 8, 1930. In: *Oskar Schlemmer: der Maler, der Wandgestalter, der Plastiker, der Zeichner, der Graphiker, der Bühnengestalter, der Lehrer*. Exh. Cat. Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart. Stuttgart: Württembergischer Kunstverein, 1977, p. 122.

Just like, Schultze-Naumburg Mies van der Rohe, a parvenu in his own right, was ridiculed for changing his name to that of a "Dutch Edelman."

Hegemann, W. "Schräges oder flaches Dach." *Wasmuth's Hefte für Baukunst*, vol. 11 (1927), p. 120.

¹⁴⁵ Borrmann (1989), p. 15.

¹⁴⁶ "Dem Kreismarschall Freiherrn Karl von Manteuffel gen. Zöge auf Katzdangen zur Erinnerung an freundschaftliches Zusammenarbeiten"

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten*. Vol. 6. *Das Schloß*. Munich: Callwey, 1910, n.p.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., n.p.

grossen Menschen und gesteigerten Lebensschicksalen, die sie aus der Masse hervorheben.¹⁴⁸

What now seems like a tone of haughty indignation in the *Kulturarbeiten* seemed to have struck a chord in Wilhelmine Germany with the Bildungsbürgertum. In 1979 Julius Posener, a German architectural critic, recalled his fond memories of the *Kulturarbeiten* volumes he received as a fourteen-year-old boy. In particular, Posener described how the books gave him “confidence in cultivating [his] taste.”¹⁴⁹ The *Kulturarbeiten*, affordable and easy to read in a short time, seemed to have fulfilled the Bildungsbürgertum’s desire for a sense of confidence in cultural values. Schultze-Naumburg’s methods were perceived by Posener as convincing: “a short text that does not address specialists, but everyone; many illustrations, that substantiate the text’s observations; the juxtaposition of example and counter-example.”¹⁵⁰ Schultze-Naumburg most likely capitalized on the fact that many upper-middle class bourgeois considered themselves quasi-aristocratic; therefore, their residences and vacation homes – such as the “Gutshaus Elverlingsen” by Altena, commissioned by an industrialist of the name Schmidt – *must* be castles. To be sure, this class added aristocratic accoutrements like a “music room” or library to their country homes.¹⁵¹ At the same time, he despised the new-wealth culture, often showing “bad” examples of “entrepreneur buildings” (“*Unternehmerbauten*”) and the “capitalist style.”¹⁵² Schultze-Naumburg had worked on a project for the Krupps, so he knew their famous French-chateau-style 269-room “Villa Hügel” they had built outside of Essen.¹⁵³ But for those who considered

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Posener acknowledges his lack of “Wohllwollen” (benevolence) towards Schultze-Naumburg’s work, because of his support of National Socialism, but still praises the *Kulturarbeiten*. Between 1973 and 1979, Posener was president of the Deutscher Werkbund.

Posener (1979), p. 191.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid..

¹⁵¹ Hamann/Hermand (1973), p. 166.

¹⁵² Several times, he shows images of “*Unternehmerbauten*” as bad examples.

Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), pp. 98-99.

¹⁵³ Dolores Augustine provides a precise insight into the many functions businessmen’s residences had to fulfill.

Augustine, Dolores. “Arriving In The Upper Class: The Wealthy Business Elite of Wilhelmine Germany.” In: Blackbourne/Evans (1991), pp. 46-86.

Dick Geary analyzed the particular case of the “feudalization” of industrialists and argues that this was essentially a modernization process. Schultze-Naumburg was not and certainly did not consider himself part of the industrial middle and aspiring upper class despite his role as founder of the Saalecker Werkstätten. He did, however build houses for businessmen stylistically oriented towards his ideal of German aristocratic architecture, such as country estates (“*Gutshöfe*”).

Geary, Dick. “The Industrial Bourgeoisie and Labor Relations in Germany 1871-1933.” In: Blackbourne/Evans (1991), pp. 140-161.

Klaus Tenfelde edited a volume that offers many views on the Krupp-phenomenon.

Tenfelde, Klaus (ed.). *Bilder von Krupp. Fotografie und Geschichte im Industriezeitalter*. Munich: Beck, 1994.

themselves Bildungsbürger, these *nouveau riche* simply had bad taste, and their interest in cultural affairs such as architecture was seen as an impertinent usurpation of the Bildungsbürger's place.¹⁵⁴

In all of his publications, Schultze-Naumburg exhibited a warmly patronizing attitude towards the lower classes, when he praised obviously run-down abodes for their humbleness, appropriateness, and sincerity. In fact, the examples Schultze-Naumburg showed of "good" lower class architecture often suggest little comfort and low sanitary standards: small houses on overcrowded alleys with no sewage, or a line of medieval back façades with outhouses.¹⁵⁵

Volume five of the *Kulturarbeiten* was titled *Kleinbürgerhäuser*. Schultze-Naumburg wrote:

Es wäre nichts als eine Unwahrhaftigkeit, wenn sich [Kleinbürgerhäuser] in die Maske des Kosmopoliten hüllten. Es wäre genauso eine Lüge, wie die in den verflossenen Jahrzehnten genugsam geübte und genugsam gezeigte Gepflogenheit der wohlhabenden Stände, sich in Prunkformen zu hüllen. Kleinbürgerliche Bauart muss kleinbürgerlich aussehen, solange es eben noch Kleinbürgertum gibt.¹⁵⁶

Kleinbürgerhäuser consists only of a foreword and "positive" examples; descriptive texts and negative examples are missing. Possibly Schultze-Naumburg did not want to be perceived as classist. In fact, most examples shown are titled "Bürgerhaus" or "Bauernhaus" (images 32, 33, 35, 40, 63). All images of houses are taken from the same corner view, often with some surrounding landscape. There are no frontal views and no images of urban worker's housing. One image of a "Vorstadthaus" bears the inscription "Gemeinde-Verwaltung."¹⁵⁷ But even if Schultze-Naumburg wanted architecture to look *bodenständig*, he urged everyone to modernize their lives

¹⁵⁴ "The educated German – the academic, the bureaucrat, the professional man – had for generations occupied a place of distinction just below the aristocrat, and he was now puzzled and disturbed by the rise of a society that accorded equal or superior distinction to men of crasser aims and morals." Stern (1987), p. xxvi.

Many shared the indignation about the *nouveau riche*:

Werner Sombart wrote about the "Protzmanns und ihr Anhang."

Sombart, Werner. *Kunstgewerbe und Kultur*. Berlin: Marquardt, 1908, p. 66.

Hartig diagnosed "Akanthuskrankheit" ("acanthussickness") and Paul Mebes speaks of "Talmikunst" ("fake art").

Hartig, Erdmann. *Erziehung zur bürgerlichen Baukunst*. Aachen: Jacobi, 1906, p. 10.

Mebes, Paul. *Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1908, p. 14.

Cf. Saldern, Adelheid von. "'Kunst für's Volk.'" In: Marßolek/Wildt (1999), p. 170.

Cf. Edle von Gernersheim, Barbara. *Unternehmervillen der Kaiserzeit (1871-1914)*. Munich: scaneg, 1988, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten Vol. 9. Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen. V. Industrie. VI. Siedlungen*. Munich: Callwey, 1917, p. 108.

¹⁵⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten Vol. 5. Das Kleinbürgerhaus*. Munich: Callwey, 1907, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., n.p.

through technical amenities and appliances like running warm water, washing machines, and phones: “Wer aber heute im werktätigen Leben steht und wessen Kräfte als Leistungen bewertet werden, handelt unwirtschaftlich und rückständig, wenn er mühselig und langsam das mit den Händen verrichten will, was das Werkzeug rasch und mühelos leistet.”¹⁵⁸ It is plausible that Schultze-Naumburg’s goal was to educate the German lower and middle classes so that taste would become part of their being. (According to Posener, he was successful.)

But his desire to immediately change the public display of taste was more urgent than that. The Bildungsbürgertum was to assume control over the aesthetics of public space *now*. It was not enough to be educated; one also had to *feel* sophisticated and to validate this sophistication through public display and permanent material manifestation in form of architecture.¹⁵⁹ In his book *Das bürgerliche Haus*, Schultze-Naumburg lists architectural programs sorted by class and occupation.¹⁶⁰ He did not want to wait for some type of trickle-down effect of a text; instead he conceived of an effective way to devise standards not just via images but through a polemical juxtaposition of images and captions.¹⁶¹

Liability to Reaction: Schultze-Naumburg and Nazi Kulturpolitik

As early as 1899, there is, however, another side of Schultze-Naumburg with the gentlemanly, noble habitus: his fascination with physical and sexual hygiene, which displays itself in morbid allusions to the threat of ugliness, deterioration, and deformation.¹⁶² In his 1901 publication on *Häusliche Kunstpflege*, Schultze-Naumburg placed great importance on personal hygiene, for sanitary and also aesthetic reasons. This home-decorating book also features an entire section on the problem of deformed feet, which were very ugly and should be avoided,

¹⁵⁸ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Das bürgerliche Haus*. Frankfurt am Main: H. Bechold, 1926, pp. 91-2.

¹⁵⁹ Peter Ulrich Hein mentions the public display of “culturedness” as an important aspect of nationbuilding. Hein (1991), p. 28.

Also important: Brönnner, Wolfgang. „Schichtenspezifische Wohnkultur.“ In: Mai, Ekkehard (ed.). *Kulturpolitik und Kunstförderung*. Berlin: Mann, 1982, pp. 361-378.

¹⁶⁰ Schultze-Naumburg (1926), pp. 45-7.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Haus, Andreas. “Fotografische Polemik und Propaganda um das ‘Neue Bauen’ der 20er Jahre.” In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 20, Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981, p. 93.

¹⁶² On sexual allusions in bourgeois Germany see:

Haug, Wolfgang Fritz. *Die Faschisierung des bürgerlichen Subjekts*. Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 1986, pp. 149-50.

according to Schultze-Naumburg.¹⁶³ And one of his stated aims for the *Kulturarbeiten* was to inhibit the decline of the country's "physiognomy" into a "raw unhappy face," to which he prefers a "wide honest face."¹⁶⁴ On the way to a "new steel-hard race," Schultze-Naumburg espied many vices (attributed to other nations) such as the French corset and Russian alcoholism: "Man erkannte einen alten Feind, den Alkohol, und wies der Jugend reinere und edlere Lebensfreuden als die unsrer russischen Nachbarn."¹⁶⁵ He imagined the "rape of the German face" and its replacement with an "entseelte, entgötterte und mechanische Welt."¹⁶⁶ In 1928, he describes modernist cultural products of the Weimar Republic appear like "Krämpfe oder epileptische Anfälle."¹⁶⁷ A year later, he "explained" modernist culture as a product of schizophrenia and has diagnosed nineteenth-century and modernist culture as "krankhafte Zuckungen."¹⁶⁸ It seems that Schultze-Naumburg tries to balance these unsettling images and metaphors by cranking out exaggerated notions of wholesomeness. The author's extreme fear is palpable in the negativity of most of his mid-career writings, but it is only evident just how deep his distrust in fellow humans and fear of infection runs once he attaches himself to race theory and admits the desire for "happy" houses, longing for the company of "decent humans."¹⁶⁹

The anxiety about a "Kulturkrise" was a driving force for all conservatives. But while Schultze-Naumburg had always been a "Mahner," he was not prone to nihilism. Most of Schultze-Naumburg's writings are characterized by a tone of passionate discontent, but it is in the notorious *Kunst und Rasse* that Schultze-Naumburg amplifies his intensity to join the omnipresent tone of alarm. The publication of Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes* (published in two volumes 1920 and 1922) and its spectacular popular success might have prompted, or at least accelerated, Schultze-Naumburg's decline into the extreme negativity, drama, and tastelessness found in *Kunst und Rasse*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Häusliche Kunstpflege*. Leipzig: Eugen Diederichs, 1899, pp. 118-129.

¹⁶⁴ Schultze-Naumburg (1901), pp. 19-20, fig. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten. Vol. 7. Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen I. Wege und Straßen und Pflanzenwelt und ihre Bedeutung im Landschaftsbilde*. Munich: Callwey, 1916, p. 22.

¹⁶⁶ Schultze-Naumburg (1929), p. 10.

¹⁶⁷ Schultze-Naumburg (1938), p. 149. (This sentence is a new addition to the 1928 edition of *Kunst und Rasse*.)

¹⁶⁸ Schultze-Naumburg (1929), p. 19.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁷⁰ The remarkable success of Spengler's book proves that it must have hit on widely existent culturally pessimistic sentiments.

Bergmann (1970), p. 179.

Schultze-Naumburg describes the "decline of empires" (ancient Roman and Greek) at length.

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kunst und Rasse*. Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1928, pp. 68-79.

Kunst und Rasse provides crass imagery and a basic polemic that invariably established an attitude of disgust with modern art, convenient for any rabid reactionary. *Kunst und Rasse* is the reason Schultze-Naumburg is often regarded as a “nationalsocialist cultural ideologue.”¹⁷¹ Still, Paul Schultze-Naumburg became *persona non grata* with the Nazis for several reasons, including his age, his lack of diplomacy, his verbosity, his arrogance towards socialism and capitalism, his extreme insecurity, and above all his apparently uncontrollable obsession with anatomical metaphors. To be sure, the *Kunst und Rasse*, particularly because of its images of disfigured humans with birth defects alongside images of modern expressionist paintings, is among the most repugnant books ever published, and it exceeds most Nazi propaganda in its lack of public inhibition. Each set of images, positive images of “Nordic” and ancient Greek and Roman art (over 100 images) and negative images of Japanese and African art (11 images), modern art (16) and images of disfigured humans (17), is not in dual-juxtaposition format but in groups. The chapter “*Auswirkungen der Rasse auf die Gestaltung unserer Umwelt*” finally connected to his earlier work on architecture, landscape and environment and shows sixteen photographs of buildings and landscapes, which is a conflation of his criticism in the *Kulturarbeiten* combined with his new findings in “race theory.”¹⁷² But the book marked a drastic change in Schultze-Naumburg’s publications. Schultze-Naumburg’s *Kunst und Rasse* was the only book published by Julius Friedrich Lehmann, who saw himself as a nationalist activist in his own right and was the main publisher of reactionary books about race. It is likely that Lehmann might have influenced the atrociousness of the images chosen.¹⁷³ Nationalism and pedagogic zeal were not uncommon among the many new publishers, and some nationalists were even more zealous than Schultze-Naumburg: Diederichs or Lehmann were extremely driven, soliciting work by authors that would fit their role as “*Volkserzieher*” and promote their chauvinist agenda. In the

¹⁷¹ Hofer, Sigrid. “Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutzbaukunst.” In: Kerbs/Reulecke (1998), p. 69.

¹⁷² Schultze-Naumburg (1928), pp. 129-157.

This portion of *Kunst und Rasse* is usually overlooked due the extremeness of the rest of the book. I have not found any scholarly commentary on it.

¹⁷³ According to Peter-Klaus Schuster, *Kunst und Rasse* was the first book to use the association of “negative” images with modern art as a polemical method.

It was followed by the brochures for the 1937 traveling exhibition “Entartete Kunst” Adolf Dresler’s *Deutsche Kunst und ‘entartete’ Kunst*. Munich: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1938.

Schuster, Peter-Klaus. „München – das Verhängnis einer Kunststadt.“ In: Schuster, Peter-Klaus. *Die ‘Kunststadt’ München 1937. Nationalsozialismus und ‘Entartete Kunst.’* Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1987, p. 23.

Kunst und Rasse remained the only book Schultze-Naumburg published with Lehmanns.

According to Gary Stark, Lehmann specialized in “vulgarized, clearly propagandistic neo-conservative and radical rightist agitational readings.” He had published F.K. Günther’s *Rasse und Stil* in 1926, but Schultze-Naumburg had a more extensive knowledge of the arts. Schultze-Naumburg might also have been drawn by the huge commercial success of his friend Günther’s *Rassenkunde*.

Stark (1981).

foreword of the third reprint of *Kunst und Rasse* from 1938, Schultze-Naumburg specifically applauded the “*harte Auslese*” of “*Verbrechertum*” and “asocial elements,” and praised the “disempowerment” of Jews. In unambiguous terms he wrote: “Die Ausmerze der Minderwertigen ist nicht mehr eine lebensferne Ideologie, sondern wurde in der Gesetzgebung verankert und somit Wirklichkeit.“¹⁷⁴

Schultze-Naumburg’s opportunism and the success of racial theories may be to blame for his slinking away from his earlier schoolmasterly style. Schultze-Naumburg became interested in “race theory” through philologist Hans F.K. Günther, widely known as “Race Günther” (“*Rassegünther*”) during the Third Reich.¹⁷⁵ Günther, who stayed with Schultze-Naumburg during his trips to Germany in the 1920s, became his best friend.¹⁷⁶ Günther became the first professor for *Rassenkunde* at Jena University in 1930. Previously, he had lived in Scandinavia, where he published several books about his “theory” of the “Nordic race.”¹⁷⁷ Lehmann had commissioned Günther to write his book *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (1922) at a very young age, asking him to quit his teaching job and paying his living expenses for two years.¹⁷⁸ The book, and an abridged version, sold over 327,000 copies by 1943 and was advertised as the most popular book in Germany in the 1928 issue of *Kunst und Rasse*.¹⁷⁹

Conceptually, *Kunst und Rasse* breaks completely from the pedagogical efforts in which Schultze-Naumburg had invested most of his adult life. In the first sentences of *Kunst und Rasse*, an exasperated Schultze-Naumburg gives race as an explanation for what he experiences as a “torturous” frustration with the “*gänzlich rätselhaft*” different opinions on art:

¹⁷⁴ Schultze-Naumburg (1928), p. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Lutzhöft, Hans-Jürgen. *Der Nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920-1940*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1971, p. 38.

¹⁷⁶ Uwe Hoßfeld provides a detailed portrait of the relationship between Schultze-Naumburg and Günther. Hoßfeld, Uwe. “Er war Paul Schultze-Naumburg’s bester Freund.” In: *Saalecker Werkstätten. Schriftenreihe. Vol. 3*. Bad Kösen: Mächler, 2001, pp. 43-59.

According to Günther, Schultze-Naumburg had contacted him and had offered that Schultze-Naumburg could stay with him when he traveled to meet his publisher.

Günther, H.F.K. *Mein Eindruck von Adolf Hitler*. Pähl: Franz von Bebenburg, 1969, p. 15.

The J.F. Lehmanns Verlag published many books on “race theory,” but framed these books within the larger goal of cultural topics, as is evident by the later publication of Schultze-Naumburg’s *Kunst und Rasse* through Lehmanns.

Stark, Gary. “Der Verleger als Kulturunternehmer. Der J.F. Lehmanns Verlag und *Rassenkunde* in der Weimarer Republik.” *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 16 (1976), pp. 292-318.

¹⁷⁷ Gary Stark describes the importance of the J.F. Lehmanns Verlag in which most books on race were published in Nazi Germany.

Stark, Gary D. “Der Verleger als Kulturunternehmer.” *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 16 (1976), pp. 292-318.

¹⁷⁸ Günther, H.F.K. *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*. Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1922.

¹⁷⁹ Schultze-Naumburg (1928), n.p.

Wenn es gelingt, den Nachweis zu führen, daß ein jedes Kunsturteil zu einem wesentlichen Teile rassegebunden ist, so käme man dadurch schon ein gutes Stück über das Quälende der anscheinend unbegründeten und daher unverständlichen Widersprüche hinaus.¹⁸⁰

Even more strongly, Schultze-Naumburg seems to discredit his earlier work as speculative: “Man erreicht [mit Kenntnissen der Rassekunde], daß eine Frage, die vordem vom Glauben und Meinen beantwortet wurde, in das naturwissenschaftliche Gebiet und so zum mindesten für die ehrlich Strebenden auf einen gemeinsamen Boden gerückt wird.”¹⁸¹ Schultze-Naumburg expands and “refines” his argumentation in later books such as *Rassengebundene Kunst*, probably published in 1933, in which he elaborates on the connection between art and race: the artwork, he claims, is a child (“*geistiges Kind*”) of the artists and thus “inherits” his genetic material; in addition, artists literally produce their likeness, which is why “*erbkrank*” or *minderwertig* humans should reproduce not only physically but also “mentally.”¹⁸²

In addition to its theoretical value for Schultze-Naumburg, race theory offered him a new and unprecedented personal freedom and optimism. It allowed him to relent from his frustrating Sisyphean task of communicating cultural values. With regards to architecture, Schultze-Naumburg revisits his earlier pedagogical effort and methodology in *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses* with a new calm attitude of gratification:

Der gute Weg, durch Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel leichter als mit Worten zu eine Klärung zu erzielen, ist allgemein anerkannt worden, und er hat auch, soweit überhaupt eine Erziehung möglich ist, manche Erfolge gebracht. Allerdings sind auch die Grenzen der Erziehung insofern eng gezogen, als selbst die beste Unterweisung es nicht vermag, fehlende Organe zu ersetzen, mangelnde Anlagen hervorzubringen oder die angeborenen Eigenschaften in entscheidender Weise umzubiegen.¹⁸³

Here Schultze-Naumburg offers another explanation for his ocular-based pedagogy’s lack of success: the degenerates simply lacked the necessary organs! While this may sound absurd, it is quite possible that Schultze-Naumburg’s anti-intellectualism did push him toward an ever more

¹⁸⁰ Schultze-Naumburg (1938), p. 9.

According to Schultze-Naumburg, he wanted to add a chapter on race theory to the *Kulturarbeiten*, but was asked by his publisher Lehmanns to write a separate book.

¹⁸¹ Schultze-Naumburg (1938), p. 11.

¹⁸² Due to lack of archival evidence in form of correspondence, it is not clear why this book was not published by Lehmann anymore, maybe Brehm expected a less sensationalist use of images.

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Rassengebundene Kunst*. Berlin: Brehm Verlag, n.d., pp. 10-11.

Schultze-Naumburg’s impulsiveness lead him to also find explanations in connection with his other passion, aristocracy: Germanic aristocracy was not exclusive due to class pride, but due to genetic purity (p. 13).

¹⁸³ Schultze-Naumburg (1929), n.p.

self-contained system of a bodily sensorium. He describes how he just might be able to walk freely and to trust humans, or at least reified, anthropomorphized house-humans:

Es gibt also noch Orte, ja sogar ganze Gegenden, in denen man mehr oder minder ungetrübt das Gefühl hat, sich unter 'anständigen Menschen' zu befinden (wenn wir Häuser mit ihrem beredten Ausdruck hier vermenschlichen wollen und denen gegenüber das Herz aufgeht, da wir in Züge blicken, die uns von klarer Gelassenheit, selbtsicherer Würde und freundlichem Menschtum erzählen.¹⁸⁴

He makes the houses literally "speak" to him in a private, affectionate manner, promising trustworthiness and permanence: "Ich bin zwar ein einfaches, aber behagliches Wohnhaus, in dem und um das herum die Menschen ein wirkliches Heim aufschlagen können."¹⁸⁵ The anthropomorphization of houses develops into a cheery synergy with "other" young hiking Germans: "Why do you like to wander through those old cities over whose old, gray roofs the church towers nod at you with an impish look, in whose streets stand houses each of which have a friendly and familiar face..."¹⁸⁶ By 1942, even Schultze-Naumburg's graciously patronizing but distant rhetoric towards his supposed "lesser-educated" audience had turned into a glowing conjuration of idealized Germans. In *Das Glück der Landschaft*, Schultze-Naumburg claims to address Germany's "hiking youth."¹⁸⁷ Schultze-Naumburg asserts that "there is hardly a more beautiful and purer sense of exhilaration than being young and hiking through the mountains, valleys, and woods of one's homeland," an "art" that requires having such a "capability in [one's] blood."¹⁸⁸ Over long passages, Schultze-Naumburg idealizes the experience of exploring nature, recounting fictive childhood experiences: "Und wie er so die Wichtigkeit des Waldes für unser Wohlergehen erkennt, fühlt er plötzlich tief im Herzen eine heiße Liebe zu ihm emporsteigen."¹⁸⁹ At the same time, Schultze-Naumburg continues his therapeutic purging of "diseased" cultural elements between 1932 and 1937 with *Kunst aus Blut und Boden*, a plainly anti-Semitic pamphlet depicting Jews as greedy plunderers, and with *Nordische Schönheit*, which extensively discusses

¹⁸⁴ Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), pp. 36-7.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 157.

¹⁸⁶ "Warum wandert ihr aber so gern gerade durch jene alten Städte, über deren hohe, altersgraue Dächer euch schelmisch blickende Kirchtürme zunicken, in deren Straßen Häuser stehen, deren jedes einzelne ein freundliches und vertrautes Gesicht hat, deren Gärten vor den Toren noch mit hohen Mauern umgeben sind, mit weißen Gartentüren und luftigen Pavillons?" Schultze-Naumburg (1942), p. 57.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 5: "Dieses Büchlein ist aus dem Wunsche entstanden, eine Einführung in das Verständnis für die Schönheiten der Landschaft zu schaffen, die im besonderen für die wandernde Jugend bestimmt sein soll."

The book does not contain any images. Norbert Borrmann claims *Das Glück der Landschaft* is a revised version of the 1924 *Vom Verstehen und Genießen der Landschaft* (Rudolstadt: Greifenverlag, 1924). While this is true of the subject matter, the 1942 book is much more passionate with regards to its imagined audience (the German audience that can enjoy German landscape due to its genetic predisposition).

¹⁸⁸ Schultze-Naumburg (1942), p. 7.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

and depicts “Neger,” the corset, breasts, nipples, and feet, and the damaging influence of Christianity to the Germanic race:

Eine Bresche... hat erst das artfremde Christentum geschlagen, das mit seiner Lehre von der Gleichheit aller menschen, von der Weltentsagung und mit dem Hinweis auf ein anderes, unbekanntes Sein in einem angenommenen Jenseits die sittlichen Grundlagen des Germanentums zerstörte.¹⁹⁰

The change in Schultze-Naumburg’s attitude and rhetoric bewildered even his friend Bartning, who created a portrait in honor of Schultze-Naumburg’s sixtieth birthday in 1929, and who describes Schultze-Naumburg’s progression from a reformer to the “epitome of conservative tendencies” as a “bitter fate.”¹⁹¹ *Kampf um die Kunst* and *Die Kunst der Deutschen*, however, do not contain the abhorrent images of disfigured humans, but rather seem to be written for a professional audience of art historians, possibly in an attempt to be included in their discourse.¹⁹² Instead, Schultze-Naumburg elaborates on what he deems the dangerous and ungerman influence of modernist architecture epitomized for him, by the Stuttgart Weissenhofsiedlung. A photograph of the house by Hans Scharoun is shot from an angle that makes it look as asymmetrical and chaotic as possible (fig. 1.5).

Schultze-Naumburg was finally able to make a “logical” argument to explain his universal aesthetic ideal. Even more so, since they were based on a “science,” his observations, analogies, and conclusions would be *definitive*, not only satisfying his authoritarian impulses, but also relieving him of the pressure to “prove” that the aesthetic he preferred as a self-proclaimed cultural critic was indeed the right one. Schultze-Naumburg would no longer have to provide endless ruminations about “Empfindungen” and countless attempts to offer visual “evidence”; clarity was to be found through “science”: “Wenn man die Kunst Deutschlands wirklich klar erkennen will, so kann man dies nur, indem man sich über die rassistischen Elemente der Bevölkerung und ihren Anteil an den jeweiligen Kunstleistungen klar wird.”¹⁹³ He would no longer be dependent on others’ sharing his apparently uncomprehensible “Empfindungen einer

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 64, 94, 96-100, 106-111.

¹⁹¹ An obviously disappointed Bartning also writes that Schultze-Naumburg was “forced to fence on the wrong side” after his contributions as a reformer led to “new and unknown life.” Bartning (1929), p. 3.

¹⁹² “In ihnen [Jews] steckt der Nomadentrieb, der sie schon in der Vergangenheit als Hirtenvölker lockende Weidegründe abgrasen ließ. War die Fruchtbarkeit erschöpft, so verließen sie den Boden; denn Heimat war er ihnen nie geworden.”

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kunst aus Blut und Boden*. Leipzig: Seemann, 1934, p. 17.

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kampf um die Kunst*. Munich: Franz Eher, 1932.

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Die Kunst der Deutschen. Ihr Wesen und ihre Werke*. Stuttgart/Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1934.

¹⁹³ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Rassengebundene Kunst*. Berlin: Brehm Verlag, n.d., p. 20.

gestörten Harmonie:” “Keine Belehrung, kein Hantieren mit guten und schlechten Beispielen hatten geholfen.”¹⁹⁴ Even though his books were widely published and read, he still watched urbanization, industrialization, and architectural modernism continue their shameless rampage throughout the Weimar Republic. Aligning himself with race theorists, and hence the Nazi party, must have presented itself as a way to end this insolence.¹⁹⁵

Schultze-Naumburg was eager to be appreciated and tried to ingratiate himself with the Nazis. He hosted powerful Nazi figures, including Hitler, in his home.¹⁹⁶ However, as an architect, he did not play as great a role as he might have hoped. He was already 64 by 1933. Young architect Speer seemed like a more viable choice to modernize architecture. Compared to Speer’s style, Schultze-Naumburg’s architecture was cute, if not tacky. Between 1934 and 1939 he worked on only six projects: the remodeling of the Nuremberg Opera House (1934-5), a design for Adolf-Hitler-Platz in Weimar (1934-5), a municipal savings bank in a small Mecklenburg village called Parchim (1934-5), the Gruft Albrecht des Bären in the Schloß Ballenstedt am Harz (1935), the municipal hall in Parchim, Mecklenburg (1935-6), and the Nietzsche-Gedächtnishalle in Weimar (1936-9). A silly *éclat* around the interior design of the Nuremberg opera shows how miffed Schultze-Naumburg felt about his low status within the Nazi ranks. Günther even claims that his friend was “emotionally abused” by Hitler with the help of Gerdy Troost, the widow of architect Paul Troost and a friend of Hitler’s: according to Günther, Hitler criticized Schultze-Naumburg’s use of a blue rug in the opera in front of his entourage and asked that he collaborate with Gerdy Troost on the interior design of the opera house. Schultze-Naumburg claimed that he had become *persona non grata* after the rug-incident, even though he was commissioned to design a “Nietzsche-Gedächtnishalle” by Hitler in the same year.¹⁹⁷

Another reason that Schultze-Naumburg was not used as a mouthpiece of Nazi cultural politics was that he was, to use the German term, a *Querulant* (griper). Before the 1940s, there was hardly anything Schultze-Naumburg did not have some complaint about, nor one individual he explicitly admired – except Goethe. He would hardly chime into the obligatory rhetoric of wholesome *Frohsinn*. Bartning describes his judgmental nature: “Das Publikum, das gehaßte und

¹⁹⁴ Sieferle (1984), pp. 198-99.

¹⁹⁵ Sieferle also points out that technology was “exculpated” by race theory, since the connection between “technology, capitalism, and environmental pollution” was separated, and technology was neutralized. Sieferle (1984), p. 201.

As I have pointed out above, Schultze-Naumburg himself was in fact rather fascinated with technology particularly as a tool of leisure enhancement, he claimed just not to like the profitable way “greedy” (Jewish) people used it.

¹⁹⁶ Günther (1969), p. 15.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

umschmeichelte, unbekannte und allgegenwärtige Untier, – er hat es ausgescholten in allen Tonarten der deutschen Sprache, und es hat ihm dafür treue Anhänglichkeit bewiesen.”¹⁹⁸ Of course, Hitler’s rejection conveniently fed into his perception of himself as a “verkanntes Genie.” Günther described what he (and probably Schultze-Naumburg) understood as Hitler’s populist contempt for *their* high level of education and sophistication: “Hitler pflegte... in den Reden zur Maifeier zur Freude der Minderbegabten und Ungebildeten gegen die Gebildeten loszuwettern.”¹⁹⁹ It is very likely that Schultze-Naumburg did not mind the abandonment of democracy in Germany, since he hoped that Hitler, with his well-known interest in the arts, would appoint cultured people like himself to important positions – an expectation that was soon crushed. According to Günther, Schultze-Naumburg admired Hitler but disliked Goebbels.²⁰⁰ Schultze-Naumburg probably perceived Hitler as truly passionate and might have hoped for some strong connection. The authoritarian rhetoric and habitus of Hitler must have also affected him, even if he claimed to have discouraged the megalomania obvious in the large scale of the buildings Hitler had Speer design.²⁰¹ Goebbels, on the other hand, with his *Eintopfstage* and interest in modernism, would have been less appealing, even though Schultze-Naumburg did some interior decorating for him.

Schultze-Naumburg shot himself in the foot by fashioning himself as an intellectual (albeit a down-to-earth-one) through his verbosity and his musing on Goethe and culture. Intellectuals (real ones, along with the obstinate, recognition-craved Bildungsbürger who considered themselves intellectual) were an annoyance for Nazis, who in Günther’s insulted terms “had no use for intellectuals who tried to see the Third Reich in terms of their own theories.”²⁰² Despite his constant publications and strong opinions on how architecture,

¹⁹⁸ Bartning (1929), p. 18.

¹⁹⁹ Günther (1969), p. 22.

To further highlight his level of “Bildung,” Günther frequently uses Latin and Ancient Greek phrases, suggesting that he attended a “real” Gymnasium, which required instruction in Latin and Ancient Greek. His friend Schultze-Naumburg, however, probably much to his dismay, had only attended the “Realgymnasium,” a school that focused on science that did not have the Ancient language requirement.

More in:

Ringer (1969).

²⁰⁰ Günther repeatedly attests that Schultze-Naumburg was appalled that Hitler did not have “more refined company.”

Günther (1969), p. 80.

Dr. Claus Pese, a historian at the Germanic National Museum, who has read Schultze-Naumburg’s *Lebenserinnerungen*, confirms this.

²⁰¹ Günther (1969), p. 79-80.

Schultze-Naumburg apparently claimed that he was invited to Berlin to discuss building plans with Hitler. According to Claus Pese, in his *Lebenserinnerungen*, he also claims that he sent Hitler a letter criticizing the scale of his building plans.

²⁰² Ringer (1969), p. 442.

landscape, and clothing should look, Schultze-Naumburg did not explicitly espouse any political *order* in his books. It seems most likely that he would have wished for an aristocracy, or else some sort of oligarchy of sophisticated people like himself. Of course, Schultze-Naumburg could not claim actual aristocratic lineage, and the modernists he despised also claimed to be culturally sophisticated. The solution for this dilemma was the reliance on what historian Hans-Jürgen Luthhöft describes as a particular form of racism, the “Rassenaristokratismus” espoused by Günther.²⁰³ By way of his racial superiority – as proven through his eminent cultural taste – Schultze-Naumburg (and other racial equals) should legitimately be in positions of power. Because of what Schultze-Naumburg must have considered Nazi lack of refinement, this power did not materialize. His opinions probably resulted in the antagonism between National Socialism and Schultze-Naumburg. Günther himself writes that his and Schultze-Naumburg’s attitude was not National Socialist but “*völkisch*.” Günther also claims that Hitler disliked the term “*völkisch*” and that he and his friend Schultze-Naumburg agreed on the following definition of “*völkisch*”: “*Völkisch war mir immer und ist mir diejenige adelstümliche (aristokratische) Anschauung, die nach den Mitteln sucht, ein Volkstum freier Menschen von Grund auf, von seinen Erbanlagen her, zu erneuern.*”²⁰⁴ However, Günther tends to describe Hitler not as National Socialist, but as “nationalist” and “socialist,” agreeing with the nationalism but despising the “socialism” (i.e. populism). Schultze-Naumburg himself always referred to the “*Volkstum*” instead of using the term “*völkisch*.”²⁰⁵ But while this might seem like a retroactive move on Günther’s part to distance himself and his friend from the Nazis after the war, it is entirely plausible that both were dismayed by the low-brow culture associated with “socialism” being propagated by the Nazis for “Aryan” Germans.

Eventually, Schultze-Naumburg was not even recognized as an architectural critic. Others such as Paul Schmitthenner had become more popular and were also using the genealogical language:

²⁰³ Luthhöft (1971), p. 14.

Luthhöft also states: “Diesem Rassenaristokratismus liegen neben politisch-weltanschaulichen ästhetizistisch-erotische Motive zugrunde.” Schultze-Naumburg’s abovementioned phantasies about aristocrats and their bodies support this claim.

Luthhöft (1971), p. 14.

²⁰⁴ Günther (1969), p. 16.

²⁰⁵ Furthermore, the style of artists that would describe their work as “*völkisch*” between 1900 and 1920, Fidus, for instance, or Ludwig Fahrenkrog, was so garish, it is unlikely it would have appealed to Schultze-Naumburg, who goes to great lengths to define his taste as “classical” and sophisticated.

For examples of work by these artists, see:

Buchholz, Kai et al. (eds.). *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*. Exh. Cat. Institut Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt: Häusser, 2001.

Die Merkmale deutscher Baukunst sind entscheidend im deutschen Volkstum begründet, dessen Wesen wiederum bedingt ist durch das Stück Erde mit dem es schicksalhaft verbunden, das die Wiege seiner Geschichte und seiner Art ist. In der deutschen Baukunst offenbart sich dieses Wesen am sinnfälligsten in der Tradition. [...] So verschieden die deutsche Landschaft und die Stämme die darin wohnen, so verschieden ist Haus und Dorf und Stadt, doch so verschieden nur, wie auch Geschwister gleichen Blutes sind.²⁰⁶

Alfred Rosenberg was an important figure in the National Socialist arts administration, where Goebbels was in charge of all media and its distribution.²⁰⁷ Schultze-Naumburg's political role was negligible. He did serve as a "consultant" to the Minister for Volksbildung, Wilhelm Frick, and in his tenure as head of the "Weimarer Vereinigte Kunstlehranstalten" (formerly the "Staatliche Hochschule für Baukunst") he dismantled seventy paintings of contemporary artists from the Schloßmuseum Weimar.²⁰⁸ He was forced into retirement from this position in 1940.²⁰⁹ Schultze-Naumburg also held a series of lectures about culture planned by the *Abteilung Vortragswesen in der NS-Kulturgemeinde*, presumably about architecture and art. It would have been possible to "book" Schultze-Naumburg from the Vortragsdienst for 60-80 RM for lectures of 1.5-2 hours.²¹⁰ But at the age of 72 Schultze-Naumburg was still subjected to the usual practice of verification through the Kulturpolitisches Archiv: "Gegen Schultze-Naumburg bestehen vom Kulturpolitsichen Archiv aus keine Bedenken und er kann zum Vortragsdienst eingezogen

²⁰⁶ Schmitthenner (1932), p. 3.

²⁰⁷ Rosenberg in fact mystified the "Volk" and with it, its culture, deriding any attempts to systematically explain, or even influence this path.

"Das Leben einer Rasse, eines Volkes, ist keine sich logisch entwickelnde Philosophie, auch kein sich naturgesetzlich abwickelnder Vorgang, sondern die Ausbildung einer mytischen Synthese, einer Seelenbetätigung, die weder durch Vernunftschlüsse erklärt noch durch Darstellung von Ursache und Wirkung begreiflich gemacht werden kann."

Rosenberg, Alfred. *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1933, p. 117.

²⁰⁸ For more information on the details of Schultze-Naumburg's agenda for the Weimar academy see: Claus Pese. "Der Name Schultze-Naumburg ist Programm genug." In: *Aufstieg und Fall der Moderne*. Exh. Cat. Weimar: Kunstsammlungen Weimar, 1999, pp. 386-93.

Andreas Lüttichau claims that Frick was Schultze-Naumburg's father-in-law (possibly while he was married to Marie Wahnschaffe?), but Frick married Schultze-Naumburg's former wife Margarete in 1934. Lüttichau, Mario-Andreas. "'Deutsche Kunst' und 'Entartete Kunst'." In: Schuster, Peter-Klaus. *Die 'Kunststadt' München 1937. Nationalsozialismus und 'Entartete Kunst.'* Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1987, p. 93.

On Frick: Brenner (1963), p. 33.

²⁰⁹ Schultze-Naumburg tried to sue the Weimar academy after his supposedly forced retirement.

Claus Pese. "Der Name Schultze-Naumburg ist Programm genug." In: *Aufstieg und Fall der Moderne*. Exh. Cat. Weimar: Kunstsammlungen Weimar, 1999, p. 392.

²¹⁰ Letter from N.S. Kulturgemeinde e.V. to the Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP from February 23, 1935. Bundesarchiv Berlin, Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP, NS 15/88.

Some of his lectures from before 1932 are published in the book "Kampf um die Kunst."

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kampf um die Kunst*. Munich: Franz Eher, 1932.

werden.”²¹¹ The exact content of the lectures is unknown. The files from the *Abteilung Vortragswesen* seem to be lost and, according to his heirs, manuscripts of the lectures do not exist. In any case, Schultze-Naumburg is likely to have improvised his lecture in accordance with his slides. Still, just when the NSDAP was putting huge efforts into the “education” of Germans via the Ministry for Enlightenment and Propaganda, he had decided basic cultural education was in vain. Degenerates could not help being degenerate, according to race theorists:

It is in any case one of the most important acknowledgements that it is completely hopeless to lift humankind permanently through education and practice. We know with certainty, for instance, that habitual criminals and other inferior individuals usually are offspring of alcoholics, imbeciles, prostitutes, and panderers.²¹²

According to Schultze-Naumburg, he realized that pedagogy was useless to alter hereditary disposition only in the second half of his life.²¹³ The link from human inferiority to architecture was obvious: it was liberalism, he suggests, with its egalitarianism that “spread a grey slime across mankind” resulting in a “discolored pulp” which finally “gave the landscape and its buildings its face.”²¹⁴ Judging from his compulsive production of texts and images, as well as his exuberant language, he felt this anxiety intensely. He often uses dramatic and anthropomorphic language to heighten and extend an almost visceral danger of decay. Sometimes this sensation of imminent cultural decay alludes to sickness. While National Socialist leaders used such language to some extent, also capitalizing on the fears disseminated by people such as Schultze-Naumburg, such excessive passion and uncontrolled obsession hardly fit into an efficient system aimed at the maximization of profit.²¹⁵

Schultze-Naumburg’s failed role in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reform movements can be understood as a desire to make sense of the evolving but unclear societal position of the bourgeoisie by visualizing tradition and its supposedly inherent

²¹¹ Letter Kulturpolitisches Archiv to Reichsdienststelle deutsches Volksbildungswerk, Vortrags- und Schrifttumswesen, Vortragsdienst, October 7, 1942.

Bundesarchiv Berlin, Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP, NS 15/206, Blatt 19.

²¹² Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Das Glück der Landschaft. Von ihrem Verstehen und Genießen*. Berlin: Engelhard, 1942, p. 71.

²¹³ Hennemeyer, Kurt. „Naumburger Jugenderinnerungen eines deutschen Künstlers Prof. Dr. h.c. Paul Schultze-Naumburg.“ In: *Saalecker Werkstätten Schriftenreihe. Vol. 1*. Bad Kösen: Mächler, 1999, p. 17.

²¹⁴ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Das Glück der Landschaft. Von ihrem Verstehen und Genießen*. Berlin: Engelhard, 1942, p. 72.

²¹⁵ Götz Aly’s important book *Hitlers Volksstaat* recently showed how Germans benefited from the massive material gains made by the Nazis.

Aly, Götz. *Hitlers Volksstaat. Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus*. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 2005.

systems.²¹⁶ Schultze-Naumburg used his architectural photographs to invent a state of social stability. Architecture and landscape are described and shown as empirical, objective data that are permanent, clear, and public. *His* Germany is accessible and offers images that are identifiable, not necessarily through own experience, but through their depiction in mass media. Schultze-Naumburg's approach had parallels to a number of ever more popular "sciences" of the late nineteenth century, including "characterology," graphology, phrenology, race theory, and physiognomy.²¹⁷ But at the turn of the century, Schultze-Naumburg's conservatism on a cultural and political level did not allow him to remain with cultural pessimism.²¹⁸ Instead, he had a quasifuturistic fascination with technology – oddly enough, his stiff, acidic negativity was joined by a happy excitement about the opportunities technology offered him on a professional and recreational level. Schultze-Naumburg's attitude towards class and aesthetics was conservative, but his writing, and certainly its production, were not driven by an "antitechnical cultural criticism."²¹⁹ Instead, if the "structural transformation of the public sphere" constituted, as Habermas claims, the disintegration of the public and the functions of its potential contributors within Wilhelmine society, then Schultze-Naumburg reacted differently than many of his contemporaries, not lamenting this growing inefficacy of the Bildungsbürgertum but instead

²¹⁶ "[...] the bourgeoisie itself was not a stable or homogenous group with a single, uniform politics. Many diverse social phenomena were inscribed in Culture as it was discussed in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century: the social decline of the traditional educated bourgeoisie or Bildungsbürgertum; the rise of nouveau riche seeking legitimation; the political marginalization of both in the new German Reich." Schwartz (1996), p. 14.

²¹⁷ For example Ludwig Klages.

Kasdorff, Hans. *Ludwig Klages im Widerstreit der Meinungen. Eine Wirkungsgeschichte 1895-1975*. Bonn: Bouvier, 1978.

²¹⁸ The general historical and social circumstances that led to the "unease" many of Schultze-Naumburg's generation felt with modernity and its changes especially after the turn of the century has been described often:

Koselleck, Reinhart. "Aufstieg und Strukturen der bürgerlichen Welt." In: Koselleck, Reinhart/Bergeron, Louis/Furet, François. *Das Zeitalter der europäischen Revolutionen 1780-1848*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1969, pp. 269-319.

Nipperdey, Thomas. "Probleme der Modernisierung in Deutschland." In: Nipperdey, Thomas. *Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1986, pp. 44-59.

Berghahn (1982), pp. 1-29.

Bruch, Klaus vom. "Wilhelminismus – Zum Wandel von Milieu und politischer Kultur." In: Puschner/Schmitz/Ulbricht (1996), pp. 3-21.

Also:

Stern, Fritz. *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (1961). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963.

Ringer (1969).

²¹⁹ Gert Hortleder mentions, but does not elaborate on, antitechnical cultural criticism in the late nineteenth century.

Hortleder, Gert. *Das Gesellschaftsbild des Ingenieurs: Zum politischen Verhalten der technischen Intelligenz in Deutschland*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1970, p. 83.

trying to create a new audience that would be arranged not by social status but by a set of values easily and quickly acquired through a common visual compass.²²⁰

Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses

The metaphor of “face” was common by 1929, but by then judgment based on physiognomy was seen by some as an established method. Even though he had used the term earlier, Schultze-Naumburg explicitly legitimized the use of the term “face” in connection with the appearance of a house as a means to assess character in the first sentences of his book *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*:

Wenn der Menschenkundige in ein Antlitz blickt, so gewinnt er sehr bald einen bestimmten Eindruck, der für seine gesamte Stellungnahme dem anderen Menschen gegenüber maßgebend wird. Etwas Ähnliches geht beim Betrachten eines Bauwerks in unserer Seele vor sich, denn auch ein Haus zeigt ein ganz bestimmtes Gesicht, und unsere Liebe sowohl, als auch unsere Abneigung gründet sich auf dessen Ausdruck, der bewußt oder unbewußt unser Urteil bestimmt. Daher haben seit jeher alle tiefer Blickenden für das Haus die gleichen bildlichen Ausdrücke wie für ein beseeltes Wesen gebraucht, also daß von des Hauses Gesicht mit Fug und Recht gesprochen werden kann.²²¹

Moreover, he proclaims that house façades are *more* legible with regards to national tradition than the residents themselves, and also more consistent.²²² It is only after his knowledge of “race theory” that Schultze-Naumburg uses human portraits to describe cultural ideals and grievances. The 1928 *Kunst und Rasse* begins with voyeuristic descriptions of two self-portraits and two portraits of Jesus Christ by Rubens, setting an anti-Semitic tone (in addition to the extremely racist descriptions of African features).²²³

In *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*, however, he finds a more precise language to reflect the connection between physiognomy, the house, and national traits. The book was the

²²⁰ Habermas (1990), p. 223.

“Zwei dialektisch aufeinander verweisende Tendenzen bezeichnen einen Zerfall der Öffentlichkeit: sie durchdringt immer weitere *Sphären* der Gesellschaft und verliert gleichzeitig ihre politische *Funktion*, nämlich die veröffentlichten Tatbestände der Kontrolle eines kritischen Publikums zu unterwerfen.”

Habermas, however strongly criticizes the deceptiveness of mass media as a “public” forum.

“Die durch Massenmedien erzeugte Welt ist Öffentlichkeit nur noch dem Scheine nach [...]” P. 261.

²²¹ Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), p. 7.

²²² Schultze-Naumburg’s distrust of human appearance: “Was wäre die deutsche Landschaft ohne die menschlichen Behausungen, die uns das Leben innerhalb unseres Volkes mit seinen Ständen, Gewohnheiten, Neigungen, seinen Freuden und Leiden starker und eindringlicher sichtbar macht als die Erscheinung der Menschen selber?”

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten Vol. 9. Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen*. Munich: Callwey, 1917, p. 75.

²²³ Schultze-Naumburg (1928), pp. 4, 28-31.

fourth and last volume of the never-completed new edition of the *Kulturarbeiten*. It compiled modified versions of the earlier *Hausbau* (*Kulturarbeiten* Vol. 1, 1901), *Dörfer und Kolonien* (*Kulturarbeiten* Vol. 3, 1904), and *Das Kleinbürgerhaus* (*Kulturarbeiten* Vol. 5, 1907). While the earlier books had been unfocused collections of images and rambling text, Schultze-Naumburg explicitly states his concept of the validity of the physiognomical study of façades in *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*.²²⁴ According to his unpublished autobiography, *Mein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis* (1943-48), Schultze-Naumburg had already understood the fundamental differences in houses' characters as a child:

Es war, als ob die Häuser Seelen im Laibe [sic] hätten, die uns alle wie besondere Arten von Menschen nahetreten konnten, mit uns Umgang pflegten und sich mit uns vertraut machten, so daß ein solches Haus uns bald wie ein alter Freund erschien. Die andere Gruppe von Häusern hatte auch Gesichter, aber sie lebten nicht. Aus starren Augen stierten uns leere Masken an, aus denen keine Freundesseele hervordrang. Tot und erstarrt war alles und es stellte sich kein anderes menschliches Gefühl als das der Gleichgültigkeit, ja des geheimen Grauens ein. Schon als Kind hatte ich diese Gegensätzlichkeit gefühlsmäßig erkannt.²²⁵

For him, a massive, staunch 17th century building with few small windows has “a broad, good, honest face.” (fig. 1.6)²²⁶ The ultimate insult for a house (often modernist) was Schultze-Naumburg's accusation that it had a “*Trollblick*” (“troll gaze”). Schultze-Naumburg did not explain what this might be but implied that such a house had an inferior lineage.²²⁷ Real pedigree, for Schultze-Naumburg, lay in the connection to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:

Ich merkte, daß all die Häuser, die ich zu den Lebendigen rechnete, bis zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt erbaut waren. Und daß alles, was mir wie totes Bauen erschien, in der Zeit danach errichte war. Der Wendepunkt war innerhalb der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts festzustellen, und es war mir die eine symbolische Bedeutung, wenn ich ihn mit dem Todesjahr Goethes 1832 verband.²²⁸

²²⁴ Schultze-Naumburg: “Nicht allein die Menschen haben Gesichter. Wer in dem Ausdruck der Häuser zu lesen versteht, wird sehr bald auch in ihnen lebendige Züge erkennen und hat das Gefühl, ebenso tief in ihr innerstes Wesen zu schauen, als wenn er beim Anblick der Augen der Stirn oder des Mundes eines Menschen dessen Seele zu erfassen glaubt.”

Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), p. 23.

²²⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Mein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis*, pp. 11-12. Unpublished Manuscript. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlass Paul Schultze-Naumburg.

²²⁶ Schultze-Naumburg (1901), p. 23.

²²⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), pp. 31, 43.

²²⁸ Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Mein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis*, pp. 11-12. Unpublished Manuscript. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv für bildende Kunst, Nachlass Paul Schultze-Naumburg.

Schultze-Naumburg was a devotee of the genius cult, a Romantic trope that experienced a revival in the late nineteenth century. A strong part of this myth was always the assumption that many geniuses were so far ahead of their times that they were only recognized posthumously. (Just to be sure, Schultze-Naumburg also had a death mask and a cast of his hand made before his death, which can be viewed at the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg.) Since buildings were like the offspring of their architects, and their soul was passed on from the architect, they were also subject to this asynchronous reception and required the promotion through visual images.²²⁹ The suggestion that German houses shared certain traits such as “traditional German” wood construction was also proposed by Wilhelm Pinder: “Wo Häuser französisch sprechen, erlischt rings um uns eine reiche Phantasie. Es beginnen tote Steinkästen mit Fensterlöchern, die Persönlichkeit des Hauses hört auf.”²³⁰ Other architects adopted Schultze-Naumburg’s concept and language. Paul Schmitthenner (1884-1972), a successful architect, organizer of the conservative interwar “Stuttgart School” and cofounder of the antimodernist architects’ group *Block*, finally streamlined Schultze-Naumburg house-individuals into the National Socialist idea of the Volkstum:

Kennst Du sein Gesicht nicht? ...Und dann schaue Deine Heimat an und du wirst in ihren Häusern Dir vertraute Gesichter erkennen, so verschieden sie auch sind im Norden und im Süden, auf den Bergen, in der Ebene und an der See. Und nicht allein nur Himmel, Sonne, Regen und Wind und Landschaft prägte dieses ‘Gesicht des deutschen Hauses’, auch die ganze Art deines Volkstums wird dir darin offenbar.²³¹

Schmitthenner’s book shows eighteen designs by Schmitthenner himself and is prefaced by a juxtaposition of an image of Hans Scharoun’s house at the Stuttgart Weissenhof Siedlung alongside Goethe’s garden house. But Schmitthenner’s talk of tradition and building was pure propaganda. While his buildings looked more traditional than modernist buildings, Schmitthenner perfected the use of standardized building materials and floor plans in his large-scale housing developments, such as Staaken by Berlin. The desire that cultural conservatives shared was for an “eternal” image of architecture. In 1938, photographer Justus Böttcher wrote:

Ein Bauwerk hat viele Gesichter, welches aber ist das ewige? ...Und dieses

²²⁹ “Häuser sind eine Anordnung von Steinen, Holz, und anderm toten Stoff, der nach einer bestimmten Ordnung zu einer Einheit verbunden ist. Aber das gilt von allen Werken der sichtbaren Kunst, die [...] uns dennoch im höchsten Grade beseelt erscheinen. Wir können uns diese Tatsache nur so erklären, daß der schöpferische Mensch den Gebilden aus seiner Hand ein Stück seiner eigenen Seele mitgibt.”

Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), p. 23

²³⁰ Pinder, Wilhelm. *Vom Wesen und Werden deutscher Formen*. Leipzig: Seemann, 1937, p. 34.

²³¹ Schmitthenner (1932), p. 32.

ewige Gesicht, das einzig wahre und echte, das dem Geiste des Architekten oder Bildhauers entspricht, zu suchen, zu finden und dann im Lichtbild zu gestalten, ist Sinn und Aufgabe der Architekturfrage [sic], die diese Bezeichnung verdient.²³²

However, during World War II, the image of contemporary or historical architecture as cultural documentation was subordinated under more grand themes such as “Reich,” “Volkstum,” “Arbeit,” and “Jugend.”

²³² Böttcher, Justus. “Architekturphotographie, ihre Auffassung und Technik.” *Photofreund* 18, 1938, p. 220 (220-222).

CHAPTER TWO: PROFESSIONALIZATION POSING THE MODERNIST SUBJECT IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

The 1920s witnessed a proliferation of photo books, photo essays, and commercial photography, described in their totality as “photo-inflation.”²³³ Architectural photographs also became increasingly more prevalent, particularly those depicting urban landscapes and cities.²³⁴ Contributing to this interest were more opportunities to travel by train or automobile, along with a cultural fascination with travel. During the 1920s, several publishers specialized in the publication of coffee table books with large-scale illustrations and little text. The Albertus-Verlag Berlin, for instance, issued a series titled *Das Gesicht der Städte* beginning with the title *Hamburg*, which featured 128 photos by Albert Frisch, followed by an installment on *Berlin* (by Mario von Bucovich, foreword by Alfred Döblin, with photographs by several photographers, 1928).²³⁵ The series had an “international” scope – it also featured *Moscow* (by Alexis A.

²³³ Pfingsten, Claus. *Aspekte zum fotografischen Werk Albert Renger-Patzschs*. Witterschlick/Bonn: Verlag M. Wehle, 1991, pp. 6-7.

Acclaimed photo historian Ute Eskildsen explains the boom in illustrated magazines after 1925 with the increased investments in the press (after the Dawes-Plan) as well as the technological advances that made photographic equipment widely available.

Eskildsen, Ute. *Fotografie in deutschen Zeitschriften 1924-1933*. Exh. Cat. Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1982, n.p.

See also:

Jennings, Michael. “Agriculture, Industry, and the Birth of the Photo Essay in Late Weimar Republic.” *October* 93 (Summer 2000), pp. 23-56.

Bergius, Hanne. „Die neue visuelle Realität. Das Fotobuch der 20er Jahre.“ In: *Deutsche Fotografie. Macht eines Mediums 1870-1970*. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1997, pp. 88-102.

Lugon, Olivier. “‘Photo-inflation’: la profusion des images dans la photographie allemande 1925-1945.” *Cahiers du Musée national d’art moderne*, no. 49 (Fall 1994), pp. 49-113.

Werneburg, Brigitte. “Foto – Journalismus in der Weimarer Republik.” *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 14, no. 13. (1984), pp. 27-40.

For an historical perspective on the early use of photographs in books see:

Armstrong, Carol. *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book 1843-1875*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998.

²³⁴ For a very basic overview see:

Grefe (1979), pp. 97-108.

Janet Ward aims to emphasize the importance of the urban scene in her book *Weimar Surfaces*.

Ward, Janet. *Weimar Surfaces. Urban Visual Culture of 1920s Germany*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2001.

Cf. Molderings, Herbert. “Urbanism and Technological Utopianism. Thoughts on the Photography of Neue Sachlichkeit and Bauhaus.” In: Mellor, David (ed.). *Germany. The New Photography 1927-33*. London: Arts Council of Britain, 1978, p. 89-90.

²³⁵ Rupp, August. *Hamburg*. Berlin: Albertus Verlag, 1927.

Other city books were published by Ernst Wasmuth Verlag: Paris (foreword by Paul Valéry, photos by Martin Hürlimann, 1927), Rome (photos by Kurt Hielscher, 1925).

Of course, one of the most popular and early books characterizing a geographical region through images of architectural and technological progress was Erich Mendelsohn’s book *Amerika*, published in 1926.

Mendelsohn, Erich. *Amerika. Bilderbuch eines Architekten*. Berlin: Rudolf Mosse, 1926.

Sydrow, photographs by several different photographers, 1928), *Barcelona* (by Carl Otto Justh, photographs by Wolfgang Weber, 1928), and *Peking* (by Perckhammer, 1928). An advertisement in another Albertus-Verlag book announces titles on New York, Chicago, Amsterdam, Prague, Buenos Aires, Rome, Constantinople, Copenhagen, and Rio de Janeiro. Most of these books included photographs of special architectural landmarks or urban spaces. Many photographs for these and other books, such as the very popular series *Blaue Bücher* discussed in Chapter One, were taken by unknown professional or amateur photographers who received little credit beyond a possible mention in the books' image credits. In the late nineteenth century, the availability of portable cameras had to a mass of material available for publication, as well as a mass pursuit of mobile entrepreneurial endeavours.²³⁶ One such business idea that was widely practiced, especially in rural areas, was the so-called "Häuserphotographie" around the turn of the century: photographers would either ring the doorbells of a house and ask inhabitants to pose at their windows, or the else photographers would pass out flyers announcing the date and time of the snapshot so that groups – sometimes even the employees of companies – could assemble in or around a building. The photographs were then offered for sale to anyone in the picture.²³⁷ In addition, photographs of new buildings, commissioned either by architects, developers, or owners, had been popular since photography became widely available. Because of massive industrialization in the late nineteenth century, factories were being built everywhere, along with

Art historian Joseph Gantner had discussed different "possibilities of documentation" in his seminal work *Grundformen der europäischen Stadt*.

Gantner, Joseph. *Grundformen der europäischen Stadt*. Vienna: Schroll, 1928, pp. 17-20.

A few rural antidotes to city books were published in 1920s by publishers such as Bruckmann, i.e. the 1932 *Romantik der Kleinstadt* with pictorial photos by famous photographer E.O. Hoppé.

Hoppé, E.O. *Romantik der Kleinstadt*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1932.

²³⁶ Further examples:

Müller-Wulckow, Walter. *Bauten der Arbeit und des Verkehrs*. Königstein: Langewiesche, 1925.

Platz, Gustav Adolf. *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1927.

Langewiesche, Karl Robert. *Bürgerbauten aus vier Jahrhunderten Deutscher Vergangenheit*. Leipzig: Fischer und Wittig, 1929.

Langewiesche, Karl Robert. *Wohnbauten und Siedlungen deutscher Gegenwart*. Leipzig: Julius Klinkhardt, 1929.

Eugen Diesel's *Das Land der Deutschen*, a collection of 431 aerial photographs mainly taken from Zeppelins and balloons showing cities, industrial sites and landscapes from above. According to Herbert Molderings, the book was so successful, that it was reprinted in a cheaper version in 1933.

Diesel, Eugen. *Das Land der Deutschen*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1931.

On Diesel:

Molderings, Herbert. „Urbanism and Technological Utopianism. Thoughts on the Photography of Neue Sachlichkeit und Bauhaus." In: Mellor (1978), p. 90.

²³⁷ Hoerner, Ludwig. *Das photographische Gewerbe in Deutschland 1839-1914*. Düsseldorf: GFW-Verlag, 1989, pp. 82-3.

Hoerner cites an anecdote by a potential customer from *Photographische Chronik* (1902), p. 521.

their attendant streets and housing.²³⁸ Thus in Germany the building boom of the late nineteenth century yielded many photographs of Gründerzeit-style buildings.²³⁹

Not surprisingly, the popularity of architectural photography in Germany coincided with a call for standards on how to use and produce images. As early as 1896, Heinrich Wölfflin, a pioneer in the use of photographic representations of art in scholarship, had already admonished that many photos of sculptures were “wrong” (and hence not adequate for art historical publications) since photographers had not used viewpoint that the artist intended.²⁴⁰ Experts like Wölfflin could distinguish such a fallacy, claimed Wölfflin, but most viewers had a “*verwildertes Auge*.”²⁴¹ While Wölfflin acknowledged that photography could potentially be aesthetically pleasing, he feared that the modern eye, which “wandered about aimlessly and without discipline” would be misled about artworks’ true qualities.²⁴² Art historian Hans Schmidt, who claimed to have written the first useful book on architectural photography (except for one book published in London in 1898, which he said was “not satisfying”), formulated “*unfehlbare Regeln zur Wahl des Standpunktes*” in his 1902 book *Die Architektur-Photographie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Plastik und des Kunstgewerbes*. In particular, Schmidt rejected the

²³⁸ Berghahn (1982), p. 9.

²³⁹ See also:

Neu-Kock, Roswitha. “Stumme Zeugen. Architekturphotographie und Stadtbilddokumentation im 19. Jahrhundert.” In: Dewitz, Bodo von/Scotti, Roland (eds.). *Alles Wahrheit! Alles Lüge! Photographie und Wirklichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Sammlung Robert Lebeck*. Exh. Cat. Amsterdam/Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1996, pp. 165-200.

Adam, Hans Christian. „Momente und Ereignisse. Beispiele deutscher Dokumentarphotographie des 19. Jahrhunderts.“ In: *In unnachahmlicher Treue*. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1979, pp. 109-114.

Adam, Hans Christian. „Photographie auf Forschungsreise. Reisende Photographen im 19. Jahrhundert.“ In: *In unnachahmlicher Treue*. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1979, pp. 115-128.

Hoerner, Ludwig. *Das photographische Gewerbe in Deutschland 1839-1914*. Düsseldorf: GFW-Verlag, 1989, p. 183.

²⁴⁰ Wölfflin’s highly influential *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915) was generously illustrated and relied on the juxtaposition of photographic images.

Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1915.

Wyss, Beat. *Der Wille zur Kunst*. Cologne: DuMont, 1996, p. 118-9.

But not everyone was convinced of the use of slides in art history. Leo Adler, the editor of *Wasmuths Lexikon der Baukunst* for instance, noted the pseudoscientific character of slide shows juxtaposing architectural images.

Adler, Leo. *Vom Wesen der Baukunst*. Leipzig: Asia Verlag, 1926.

²⁴¹ Wölfflin, Heinrich. „Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll. Teil 1.“ *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. 31, 1896, pp. 224-5

Wölfflin explicitly formulated the necessity for a “Seherschule.”

Holly, Michael Ann. *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984, esp. p. 57.

²⁴² Wölfflin, Heinrich. „Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll. Teil 2.“ *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. 32, 1897, p. 295.

fabrication of symmetrical representations of architecture, which “make an incredibly boring impression.”²⁴³

Among such “incredibly boring images” to which Schmidt was referring were most likely those produced under the direction of architect Albrecht Meydenbauer (1834-1921) for the *Preussische Messbildanstalt* he founded in 1885.²⁴⁴ Meydenbauer conceived of a process by which building façades could be measured and then drawn from photographs, rather than by actual tedious measurements of the building. Meydenbauer manufactured a specific apparatus in order to achieve exact to-scale photogrammetries. Meydenbauer’s ultimate goal, however, was to produce an archive of photographs of German architectural monuments for documentary and educational purposes.²⁴⁵ In a 1912, article he even voices his desire for an “International Monument Archive” and declares that “the establishment of archives of old buildings is a holy duty of mankind” (“Die Errichtung von Archiven der alten Bauwerke eine heilige Pflicht des jetzt lebenden Geschlechtes”).²⁴⁶ The photographs from Meydenbauer’s institute were also used in popular picture books such as the *Deutscher Kunstverlag*, the series *Deutsche Lande* and *Deutsche Kunst*, and for postcards.²⁴⁷ The manner in which architecture could best be represented according to scholarly standards remained contentious. In 1911, prominent art historian Richard Hamann (1879-1961) published the article “Zeichnende Künste und Photographie,” in which he describes the greater ability of a draftsman to capture the important aesthetic aspects of a building. Hamann describes photographs in general as “cheap mass products” that would “wreck

²⁴³ Schmidt, Hans. *Die Architektur-Photographie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Plastik und des Kunstgewerbes*. Berlin: Schmidt 1902, p. 64.

²⁴⁴ Bentmann, Reinhard/Viebrock, Jan Nikolaus (eds.). *Hessische Baukunst in alten Fotografien. Dokumentaraufnahmen der Preußischen Messbildanstalt zu Berlin von Albrecht Meydenbauer*. Wiesbaden: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 2006.

Albertz, Jörg/Wiedemann, Albert (eds.). *Architekturphotogrammetrie gestern – heute – morgen*. Berlin: Technische Universität Berlin, 1987.

Meyer, Rudolf. *Albrecht Meydenbauer – Baukunst in historischen Fotografien*. Leipzig: VEB Fotokina, 1985.

Grefe (1980), pp. 65-81

Meydenbauer, Albrecht. *120 Jahre Photogrammetrie: Das Tagebuch von Albrecht Meydenbauer*. Munich: VDI Verlag, 1978.

Grefe (1979), esp. pp. 102-5.

Meydenbauer, Albrecht. *Handbuch der Messbildkunst in Anwendung auf Baudenkmäler- und Reiseaufnahmen*. Halle: Verlag Wilhelm Knapp, 1912.

Meydenbauer, Albrecht. *Ein deutsches Denkmäler-Archiv*. Berlin: Messbild-Anstalt, 1905.

²⁴⁵ Grefe (1980), p. 79.

²⁴⁶ Meydenbauer, Albrecht. *Handbuch der Messbildkunst in Anwendung auf Baudenkmäler- und Reiseaufnahmen*. Halle: Verlag Wilhelm Knapp, 1912, p. V.

²⁴⁷ Albertz, Jörg. „Albrecht Meydenbauer – Pionier der Photogrammetrie und der Dokumentation von Kulturdenkmälern.“ In: Bentmann/Viebrock (2006), p. 160.

all cultural education” (“Kunsterziehung”).²⁴⁸ Ironically, Hamann was also one of the first art historians to use photography systematically for documentary purposes. An amateur photographer, he founded one of the most successful photographic data banks of historical monuments and artworks in twentieth century Europe, the *Bildarchiv Foto Marburg*.²⁴⁹

During the 1920s, books for amateurs multiplied, and architecture and urban space were common subjects. Werner Gräff, a painter who had studied at the Bauhaus, encouraged amateurs to “reject any type of limitation” and ridiculed rigorous rules for architectural photography: “Wirklich böse werden die von den ‘Gesetzen’ Geblendeten, wenn man ihnen Architekturbilder liefert, in denen die Senkrechten einmal nicht senkrecht sind. Man wird kaum ein Fotolehrbuch finden, das sie nicht davor warnet, die Kamera nach oben oder unten zu neigen.”²⁵⁰ But the consensus among established professionals in the architectural industry was that architectural photographs served mainly documentary purposes, which would benefit from general standards. In the Werkbund journal *Form*, for instance, Wilhelm Lotz called for the exact designation of the geographical viewpoint of the image through specification of the direction (east, west, north, or south) from which it was taken and the fabrication of photographs from a specific set of viewpoints.²⁵¹ He criticized the “artistic ambition” of architectural photographers: “So tritt auch in der Architekturfotografie, besonders bei Aufnahmen von Details eine Art krampfhafter Monumentalisierung des Objekts zutage.”²⁵² Today, the role architectural photography played in the popularization of modern architecture is unquestioned.²⁵³ The images of Bauhaus architecture by Lucia Moholy, for instance, are iconic, and their artistic status is undoubted.

²⁴⁸ Hamann, Richard. „Zeichnende Künste und Photographie.“ *Die Rheinlande*, vol. 11 (1911), pp. 30-33.

²⁴⁹ For further information on Richard Hamann and the Marburg photo archive, see the recent article by Angela Matyssek.

Matyssek, Angela. „Fotografieren ist Sehen. Kunsthistorische Forschung und Bildpraxis bei Richard Hamann und Foto Marburg.“ *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 25, no. 97 (2005), pp. 69-79.

Also:

Nickel, Heinrich. *Fotografie im Dienste der Kunst*. Halle: Fotokino Verlag, 1959.

Hamann’s assistant Bernhard von Tieschowitz also wrote a paper on rules for architecture photography in 1939.

Tieschowitz, Bernhard von. „Die Photographie im Dienste der kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung.“ In: *Festschrift für Richard Hamann zum 60. Geburtstag*. Burg: Hopfer, 1939, pp. 151-162.

Dilly, Heinrich. „Das Auge der Kamera und der kunsthistorische Blick.“ In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 20, Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981, pp. 81-89.

²⁵⁰ Gräff, Werner. *Es kommt der neue Fotograf*. Berlin: Verlag Hermann Reckendorf, 1929, pp. 34, 12.

²⁵¹ Lotz, Wilhelm. „Architekturfotos.“ *Die Form. Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit*, vol. 4 (1929), pp. 69-70.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

²⁵³ Andreas Haus calls the production of images of modern architecture “educational propaganda.”

“Das ‘Neue Bauen’ entwickelte zur Überwindung konservativer bürgerlicher Wahrnehmungsformen eine breit angelegte erzieherische Propaganda [...]. [Es] steht fest, daß diese ästhetische Erziehung und

But at the time, these photos were of commercial nature, and were part of a booming image industry. Architectural photographs were not only featured in portfolios, books and magazines, but also in the brochures of the housing societies (*Wohnungsbaugesellschaften*) of the Weimar Republic. One such marketing brochure is the exhibition catalogue *Das Heim* (1929), which shows submissions to a competition for furniture for small apartments, organized by the *Gemeinnützige Aktiengesellschaft für Wohnungsbau* (GAG). GAG was one of the leading building societies of the Weimar Republic when Konrad Adenauer was mayor of Cologne and supported “Neues Bauen.” Many photos were made by Hugo Schmölz, whose main client was the GAG (fig. 2.1).²⁵⁴ The rapidly growing city of Cologne proved to be a center for the development of commercial modern photography.²⁵⁵ Werner Mantz, who started his career as a photographer making portraits and postcard motifs of the city of Cologne, was the most successful architectural photographer, with commissions from many architects and housing development companies. While he produced only commercial work, he did attest to having almost complete freedom when working for his clients.²⁵⁶ Initially he worked for architect Wilhelm Riphahn, but he also worked for Erich Mendelsohn, Bruno Paul, and many others. But while his photos appeared in many architectural journals, the focus was always on the architect; Mantz’s work was known only to architecture professionals.²⁵⁷ Because they are advertisements for the architects’ work, Mantz’s

Propaganda ohne das Mittel der Fotografie kaum durchführbar gewesen wäre.”

Haus, Andreas. “Fotografische Polemik und Propaganda um das ‘Neue Bauen’ der 20er Jahre.” In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 20, Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981, pp. 90-91.

Mark Wigley has commented on the reliance of modernist architecture’s “clean” image on the “polemical simplification of black and white photography.”

Wigley, Mark. *White Walls, Designer Dresses*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995, p. xv.

See also:

Robinson, Cervin. *Architecture transformed: a history of the photography of buildings from 1839 to the present*. New York, N.Y.: Architectural League of New York; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987.

Rosa, Joseph. “Architectural Photography and the Construction of Modern Architecture.” *History of Photography* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1989), pp. 99-104.

Sachsse, Rolf. *Photographie als Medium der Architekturinterpretation: Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Architekturphotographie im 20. Jahrhundert*. Munich/New York: K.G. Saur, 1984, p. 183.

Also:

Dexel, W. und Grete. *Das Wohnhaus von heute*. Leipzig: Hesse und Becker, 1928.

²⁵⁴ Schmölz, Karl Hugo/Sachsse, Rolf. *Fotografierte Architektur 1924-1937*. Munich: Mahnert-Lueg, 1972.

Karl Hugo Schmölz is Hugo Schmölz’s son.

Misselbeck, Reinhold. *Köln lebt - Fotografien von Hugo und Karl Hugo Schmölz*. Cologne: J. P. Bachem Verlag, 1995.

Many of Schmölz’s and Mantz’s photographs are collected at the archive of the GAG Cologne.

²⁵⁵ Neu-Kock, Roswitha. „Über die Anfänge musealer Sachphotographie in Köln.“ *Rundbrief Fotografie. Neue Folge*, vol. 4 (1994), pp. 22-24.

²⁵⁶ Werner Mantz. *Fotografien 1926-1938*. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1978, p. 9.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 159-60.

On Mantz, also see:

commercial photos are very polished, both in their actual prints as well as their setting, which usually includes dramatic lighting and very clean interiors and façades. The 1928 photograph of a kitchen in a new municipal housing development, *Küche in einem Reihnhaus der Gemeinnützigen Aktien-Gesellschaft für Wohnungsbau*, shows off such a model interior setting, complete with modest furnishings: a stove, a sink, two chairs, and a table with sliced bread and a coffee pot (fig. 2.2).²⁵⁸ Exteriors of newly constructed modern buildings tend to be isolated, their angular forms accentuated by strong shadows formed in bright sunshine – considering the climate in Germany, very bright sunshine would not be a typical circumstance. Unlike many contemporaries, Mantz had a sense of humor about his work. In an advertisement for his business, he wrote: “Lassen Sie die Sonne für sich scheinen – Lassen Sie die Wolken für sich arbeiten – Sonne und Wolken machen mehr aus einem Bild als ich.”²⁵⁹ Of course, it was up to Mantz to utilize the weather conditions and setting, which seem entirely consistent in his photographs: even a 1929 photograph of a renovated eighteenth-century row-house, complete with geraniums adorning the windows, features strong shadows originating from the window frame and entrance door frame, as well maximum isolation of the building by positioning it centrally and truncating the two adjoining buildings.²⁶⁰

Photography of modernist buildings and products in a “modern style” was very popular among amateurs, and in his article “hochkonjunktur – nachträgliches zur foto-inflation,” photographer Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897-1966), most commonly associated with New Objectivity, lamented the proliferation of amateur experimental photography at exhibitions such as the 1929 Werkbund exhibition.²⁶¹ A successful professional photographer, Renger-Patzsch, the son of a musician in Würzburg and a student of the humanistic Gymnasium in Dresden, himself made more than eighteen thousand photographs, two thousand of which he published in 37 photo

Werner Mantz. *Architekturphotographie in Köln 1926-1932*. Exh. Cat. Museum Ludwig Cologne. Cologne: Verlag Locher, 1982.

Misselbeck, Reinhold/Hagspiel, Wolfram. *Werner Mantz. Vision vom Neuen Köln. Fotografien 1926-1932*. Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 2000.

²⁵⁸ Werner Mantz. *Fotografien 1926-1938*. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1978, p. 41.

²⁵⁹ From an unpublished conversation between Mantz, Wilhelm Schürmann and Klaus Honnef cited in: Werner Mantz. *Fotografien 1926-1938*. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1978, p. 9.

²⁶⁰ While Mantz was very successful around 1920, he lost interesting commissions at the end of the Weimar Republic, for one, because of the effects of the depression on real estate development, secondly, because he did not receive any more commissions from his Cologne clients. Some ceased to receive commissions themselves (Wilhelm Riphahn, Peter Franz Nöcker), some emigrated to the US to avoid persecution (Georg Falck, Robert Stern, Theodor Merrill, Hans Heinz Lüttgen). His client Manfred Faber was killed in Auschwitz, and Fritz Fuß committed suicide.

Hagspiel, Wolfgang. “Werner Mantz. Der Lichtbildner.” In: Misselbeck, Reinhold/Hagspiel, Wolfram.

Werner Mantz. Vision vom Neuen Köln. Fotografien 1926-1932. Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 2000, p. 14.

²⁶¹ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. “hochkonjunktur – nachträgliches zur foto-inflation.” *Bauhaus*, vol. 3, no. 4, (October-December 1929), p. 20.

books during his lifetime.²⁶² Between 1919 and 1922 he briefly studied chemistry, after being drafted to serve in World War I between 1916 and 1918. He had not received any formal training as a photographer, but he had worked as the head of the image archive of the Folkwang and Auriga publishing houses in Hagen after 1922, where he began working on his own photography series. After several moves between 1923 and 1925, he settled as an independent photographer in Bad Harzburg until 1928. Renger-Patzsch had joined the Werkbund in 1925 but was not a very active member, possibly because the years between 1925 and 1927 were also very successful years for him, marked by five exhibitions: at his studio in Bad Harzburg, at the *Folkwangarchiv* in Hagen, and at the *Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte* in Lübeck (organized by Carl Georg Heise), at the *Kästner-Gesellschaft* in Hannover, as well as at a group show at the *Société Française de Photographie* in Paris. When the Museum Folkwang in the industrial town of Essen offered Renger-Patzsch an own studio at the museum, he relocated there. Beginning in the 1920s, he received many commissions from corporations to document industrial products and plants.²⁶³ But he probably hoped to receive even more lucrative commercial commissions in this industrial town, where he made the acquaintance of modernist architects Alfred Fischer, Rudolf Schwarz,

²⁶² Renger-Patzsch's first books were: *Welt der Pflanze* (1924, very rare, not attributed to Renger-Patzsch yet), *Das Chorgestühl von Kappenberg* (1925), *Die Halligen* (1927), etc.

Many of Renger-Patzsch's photographs were destroyed during an aerial raid on Essen in 1944.

His biography (probably written by the modernist proponent Carl Georg Heise) in a 1942 monograph of him notes that his father, who was apparently also interested in photography, was from Dresden. While this information may seem irrelevant, it is an important hint suggesting that he was not provincial, but came from a sophisticated family, in which values from a high-cultured city like Dresden must have been present.

The booklet about Renger-Patzsch was part of a series called "workshop reports" edited by the Kunst-Dienst, an organization formed by the Protestant church in 1928 and informed by ideas of the Werkbund. . Heise, Carl Georg. *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Photograph. Werkstattbericht herausgegeben vom Kunst-Dienst*. Berlin: Ulrich Riemerschmidt Verlag, 1942, p. 17.

²⁶³ There are several monographic studies on Renger-Patzsch. Many focus on formal aspects and the reception of his work during the 1920s; several studies of New Objectivity also cover Renger-Patzsch's work. I have taken much of the biographical information from Pfingsten's detailed study on Renger-Patzsch's work.

The most comprehensive study of Renger-Patzsch's work is Virginia Heckert's outstanding dissertation. Heckert, Virginia. *Albert Renger-Patzsch: Contextualizing the Early Work, 1920-1933*. New York: Columbia University, 1999.

Also:

Pfingsten (1991), pp. 6, 8.

Honnef, Klaus. *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Fotografien 1925-60. Industrielandschaft, Industriearchitektur, Industrieprodukt*. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Rhenland Verlag, 1977.

Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge. Exh. Cat. Essen: Ruhrland- und Heimatmuseum, 1966.

Also:

An entire issue of the journal *History of Photography* was dedicated to Renger-Patzsch in 1997. Edited by Renger-Patzsch scholar Virginia Heckert, the issue includes essays focusing on Renger-Patzsch by Heckert (on pedagogy), Claus Pflingsten (industrial photography), Thomas Janzen (on abstraction), Ulrich Rüter (on reception) and Matthew Simms (aesthetic theory).

History of Photography, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997).

and Fritz Schupp, who all asked him to photograph their buildings. His work for Schwarz turned into a long collaboration, including the book *Wegweisung der Technik*, in which Schwarz used fourteen photographs of plants and buildings by Renger-Patzsch with short descriptions of formal qualities and associations.²⁶⁴ The fancy, silver-bound *Eisen und Stahl* was a Werkbund publication featuring 97 photographs of factories such as the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG in Berlin, reproduced on glossy pages.²⁶⁵ Commercial photography was always an important part of Renger-Patzsch's work, even if his late commercial photographs are neglected by scholarship, possibly because the emphasis in photography scholarship has often been on establishing photography as art.²⁶⁶ Renger-Patzsch stayed in Essen until 1944, when he relocated to Wamel, a village in northern Germany. Renger-Patzsch's work was highly regarded after World War II, and he received several awards for his photographic work between 1957 and 1965.²⁶⁷

Unlike Schultze-Naumburg and many other contemporaries, Renger-Patzsch explicitly refrained from generalized statements about his work, or about photography and culture.²⁶⁸ He

²⁶⁴ Schwarz, Rudolf. *Wegweisung der Technik*. Potsdam: Müller und Kiepenheuer, 1928.

Also:

Maßvoll sein heißt sinnvoll ordnen. Rudolf Schwarz und Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Architekt, der Photograph und die Aachener Bauten. Exh. Cat. Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig Museum, 1997.

²⁶⁵ *Eisen und Stahl*. Geleitwort von Dr. Albert Vögler. Generaldirektor der Vereinigten Stahlwerke. Werkbund-Buch. Berlin: Hermann Reckendorf Verlag, 1931.

²⁶⁶ Donald Kuspit, for instance, suggested that Renger-Patzsch really wanted to be an artist and that especially his commercial work, during the 1930s, "under Nazi rule," was "a kind mourning for his old attitude towards [things]," which, according to him looked "dead" compared to objects photographed in the 1920s.

Kuspit, Donald. "A Critical-Biographical Profile." In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Joy Before the Object*. New York: Aperture Foundation, 1993, p. 73.

²⁶⁷ David-Octavius-Hill-Medal by the Gesellschaft deutscher Lichtbildner in 1957, Kulturpreis of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie in 1960, Staatspreis für Kunsthandwerk of the state of Northrhine-Westphalia in 1965.

Prices for rare vintage prints of his photographs were consistently high and continue to rise.

Friend and colleague Fritz Kempe commented on the high value of photographs by Albert Renger-Patzsch in 1978.

Kempe, Fritz. "The World Is Beautiful. A Model of Objects and Things." In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. 100 Photographs 1928*. Exh. Cat. Beaubourg/Kunsthalle Bielefeld/Neue Sammlung: Paris/Bielefeld/Munich, 1979, p. 8. (Text originally published in *Camera Magazin*, 1978.)

²⁶⁸ In fact, his written statements are so few, all are listed below:

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. "Das Photographieren von Blüten." *Deutscher Camera Almanach*, vol. 15 (1925), pp. 105-6.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. "Photographische Studien im Pflanzenreich." *Deutscher Camera Almanach*, vol. 17 (1927), pp. 137-8.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. "Ziele." *Das Deutsche Lichtbild 1* (1927), p. 18.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. "Photographie und Kunst." *Photographische Korrespondenz*. Vol. 63, no. 3 (1927), pp. 80-83.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. "hochkonjunktur – nachträgliches zur foto-inflation." *Bauhaus*, vol. 3, no. 4, (October-December 1929), p. 20.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. "'Halt mal still' – Über Amateurphotographie." *Uhu*, no. 10 (1929), pp. 19-26.

considered interest in his personal life “perverse” and asked that personal information not be given as an introduction to a 1956 lecture in Hamburg.²⁶⁹ Because of his resistance to general cultural statements, Renger-Patzsch was perceived as aloof, detached, or at best, modest, technically rigorous, and hard-working.²⁷⁰ He is most often described as “sachlich” (a term best translated by the English “objective” or “rigorous”). Also unlike Schultze-Naumburg, Renger-Patzsch did not have to work as hard to establish a sophisticated and legitimately opinionated persona.²⁷¹ This impression is supported by his tendency to abstract, dogmatic rhetoric:

Ich gehe... von der Wirklichkeit als Raum aus. Dieser Raum soll als Ausschnitt so beschaffen sein, daß er, auf der Ebene projiziert, eine geordnete Bildfläche ergibt. Er muß also so beschaffen sein, daß er nicht als Ausschnitt empfunden wird; es muß durch ihn eine neuer Bildorganismus entstehen, der vom Zufälligen ganz befreit ist.²⁷²

Art historians who favored Renger-Patzsch’s work – such as Franz Roh, Hans Hildebrandt and Wolfgang Born – offered affidavits of photography’s supposedly inevitable modernity, thus implicitly rejecting the sentimental value they considered reactionary: “It is not incidental that the very process of taking a photograph involves the use of technology. The nature of this medium is intrinsically adapted to the structure of contemporary worldview; its objective way of registering

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. In: Schöppe, Wilhelm (ed.). *Meister der Kamera erzählen. Wie sie wurden und wie sie arbeiten*. Halle: Wilhelm Knapp, 1937.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. „Es war eine herrliche Zeit.“ *Photomagazin* (December 1953), p. 74.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Versuch einer Einordnung der Photographie*. Schrift 6 der Folkwangschule Essen. Essen: Folkwangschule, 1958.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. „Vom Sinne der Photographie und der Verantwortlichkeit des Photographen.“ *Foto Prisma* 8 (1965), p. 418.

²⁶⁹ Kempe, Fritz. „Albert Renger-Patzsch, Mensch und Werk.“ In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge* (1966), n.p.

²⁷⁰ Donald Kuspit mentions the supposed continuous congruence of Albert Renger-Patzsch, his modernist artistic persona, and his photographs: “His simple, even Spartan lifestyle never changed, and is reflected in the sparseness of his photographs.”

Kuspit is in fact much more critical of Sander than of Renger-Patzsch.

Kuspit (1993), p. 5.

²⁷¹ “It would be hard to imagine a better conversation partner than Renger-Patzsch who dwelt in a hall full of books beneath heavy beams. Everything he said or wrote was possessed of wisdom, form and culture, even when he became angry at stupidity [sic] and lack of understanding.”

Kempe, Fritz. “The World Is Beautiful. A Model of Objects and Things.” In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. 100 Photographs 1928*. Exh. Cat. Paris/Bielefeld/Munich: Beaubourg/Kunsthalle Bielefeld/Neue Sammlung, 1979, p. 8. (Text originally published in *Camera Magazin*, 1978)

On being honored with prizes: “Gnarled and a little prickly, but at the same time possessed of an old-fashioned magnificence, Renger-Patzsch appeared in town like a country squire [Landedelmann] who, from time to time, took pleasure in being enticed from his solitude.”

Kempe, Fritz. „Albert Renger-Patzsch, Mensch und Werk.“ In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge* (1966), n.p.

²⁷² Kempe, Fritz. „Albert Renger-Patzsch, Mensch und Werk.“ In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge* (1966), n.p.

facts corresponds to the thinking of a generation of engineers.”²⁷³ And indeed, many of the statements published by Renger-Patzsch focus solely on technical aspects of photography and can be understood as rules for aspiring photographers.

In general, though, Renger-Patzsch did not have great pedagogical ambitions. While he did teach at the *Folkwangschule* in Essen in 1933, he only stayed for one semester.²⁷⁴ It is often claimed that Renger-Patzsch stopped teaching for “political reasons.”²⁷⁵ While another reason for this might have also been his preoccupation with many commercial jobs and collaborations with publishers, the question whether or not Renger-Patzsch was in any way complicit with the Nazi government has been of great concern to scholars. It is certain that Renger-Patzsch was able to continue his work as a photographer without much changing his style, particularly in his commercial work.²⁷⁶ He had previously worked on portraying regions in Germany, and books praising Germany remained popular and innocuous throughout the Nazi era. Virginia Heckert, whose work on Renger-Patzsch remains the most rigorous, writes the following in relation to Renger-Patzsch’s work for the *Organisation Todt* (an agency for para-military projects) in 1943-44: “The question remains unanswered as to whether Renger-Patzsch identified with National Socialist politics, or whether his collaboration was a matter of surviving the times.”²⁷⁷ Much scholarly work on Renger-Patzsch was published in the 1970s and 80s, and it is often marked by an attempt to legitimize his work and his professional success in general.²⁷⁸ The suspicion that Renger-Patzsch’s work was acceptable to Nazi arts authorities constituted a huge problem for his

²⁷³ Born, Wolfgang. “Photographic Weltanschauung.” In: Phillips (1989), p. 156.

²⁷⁴ Renger-Patzsch had received several offers to teach from five different schools. Virginia Heckert offers a detailed account of all of Renger-Patzsch’s activities between 1920 and 1949.

Heckert, Virginia. “Albert Renger-Patzsch as Educator. ‘Learn to see the World.’” *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997), pp. 205-15.

²⁷⁵ Pfingsten (1991), p. 16.

Böhmer, Sylvia (ed.). *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Photographien*. Exh. Cat. Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, 1993/1994, n.p.

Wilde, Ann and Jürgen (eds.). *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Ruhrgebiet-Landschaften 1927-1935*. Cologne: DuMont, 1982, p. 173.

Kuspit (1993), p. 6.

²⁷⁶ Under the name “Renger,” several photos by Renger-Patzsch of a large vacation home and landscapes in the Erzgebirge were published in the National Socialist architecture journal *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen* in 1939. *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 19, no. 15, August 1, 1939, pp. 792-796.

Another example is his company catalogue for the Jenaer Glaswerke from 1937.

Jenaer Glas für Laboratorien. Jena: Schott und Genossen, 1937.

²⁷⁷ Heckert, Virginia. “Albert Renger-Patzsch as Educator. ‘Learn to see the World.’” *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997), p. 214.

²⁷⁸ Many of the books published on him are by photo historians who at the same time also want to clearly establish photography in general as “art,” because much of his work was commissioned and often commercial and hence not “art” according to a modernist conception of art pour l’art. Revisionist art history of the 1980s and 90s in particular is marked by the paradox of “rebellious” against a system it ferociously clings to at the same time.

admirers. If one wanted to write positively about Renger-Patzsch, one or both of these operations had to be performed: first, proving that Renger-Patzsch or his work was suspect to Nazi infringement; second, that this pressure, or at least the despair over the political system, led him to produce “only” commercial work.²⁷⁹ In postwar Germany, there has been an extraordinary desire to “revive” the image of Weimar Republic German culture, proving that the Third Reich and its reactionary cultural ideals were only a terrible aberration dictated from above.²⁸⁰ Artists and other cultural figures whom cultural critics did not want to drop from the canon, but who had the stigma of potential association with the Nazis, were given the retroactive opportunity for “inner emigration” during the Third Reich. The term was commonly used for intellectuals and artists who did not emigrate, but also could seem, or claim, to have resisted being compromised by the Nazis.

Modernist style made any artist a good candidate for the “inner emigration” tag. In these cases, instead of searching for evidence of involvement with the Nazis, critics sought out evidence for inner emigration, producing remarkably coherent vitae for the artists in question.²⁸¹ Many modernist artists and architects claimed to have been kept from pursuing their work by reactionary cultural forces. In some cases, such as Hannah Höch, this was true; in others, as in the case of Mies van der Rohe, it was not.²⁸² Unlike Erna Lendvai-Dircksen (discussed in Chapter Three), Renger-Patzsch was not actively involved in propagating an illustrious and explicit “Nazi”-aesthetic, nor was he “*verfemt*.” Despite numerous claims from art historians, there seems to be no hard evidence to prove that Renger-Patzsch was actively hindered from working as a photographer.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ Donald Kuspit goes through this process most explicitly:

“Many of the artists and writers he knew were forbidden to work, or emigrated; some were even imprisoned in concentration camps. All of this seemed to have shocked and depressed him.”

Kuspit (1993), p. 6.

A further step was to establish that the commercial work, though different in intention did indeed qualify as “art” due to formal qualities.

²⁸⁰ Deutsche, Rosalyn. “Men in Space.” *Strategies: A Journal of Theory, Culture and Politics* 3 (1990), pp. 130-137.

²⁸¹ Joseph Beuys brilliantly satirized this method by constructing his outrageous Third Reich life story and props himself.

²⁸² Mies van der Rohe did work for the Nazis, even in propaganda exhibitions like *Deutsches Volk-Deutsche Arbeit* (1937). In fact, Mies van der Rohe (correctly) sensed that there would be little opportunity for individual modernist fame within a Nazi-lead country next to government architects such as Speer. Van der Rohe mainly left Germany because he saw greater opportunity for fame and idolization elsewhere and moved to the US after he received an offer to head the IIT in 1938.

²⁸³ In a generally very defensive article, Donald Kuspit writes that Renger-Patzsch “would not compromise his ideas” according to the Nazi “conception of art.”

Kuspit (1993), p. 6.

Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön*

One of the most ardent and well-known debates about modern photographs of buildings was incited by Renger-Patzsch's own photographs. His aesthetic and its motivations were highly criticized by liberal contemporary critics, for whom culture was indicative of larger societal issues. Renger-Patzsch's most famous publication is the 1928 *Die Welt ist schön*.²⁸⁴ It was edited by Carl Georg Heise (1890-1979), an art historian and museum director who was a major supporter of modernist art in his capacity as the director of the Lübeck Museum for Art and Cultural History between 1920 and his dismissal in 1933.²⁸⁵ It is because of *Die Welt ist schön* that Renger-Patzsch is perceived as one of the main protagonists of New Objectivity.

The book features a hundred photographs by Renger-Patzsch, most of them of plants, landscapes, and industrial objects. Only eight of these photographs have architectural subjects (the Lübeck cathedral is one), while only one image, *Vorstadthäuser*, shows residential housing (fig. 2.3). The latter is hardly a "tenement block," but rather an image of roofs and back façades in an urban setting presumably dating from the nineteenth century. Like most works and publications in the modernist style, the book was perceived as trendy and flippant by conservative critics. More surprising and injurious, however, was the criticism from the leftist political spectrum, which was generally considered sympathetic to modernist aesthetics. Philosopher Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) famously criticized Renger-Patzsch's aesthetic on several occasions, claiming that it was commercialized and that social "realities" were obliterated in the stylized, "transfigured" photographs of the built environment by Renger-Patzsch.²⁸⁶ This, Benjamin claimed, served the political purpose to "renovate the world as it is from the inside" through the formal aspects of their representation:

But now follow the path of photography further. What do you see? It becomes ever more nuancé, ever more modern, and the result is that it can no longer photograph a tenement block or a refuse heap without transfiguring it. It goes without saying that it is unable to say anything of a power station or a cable

²⁸⁴ Many texts on Renger-Patzsch focus on *Die Welt ist schön*. The most detailed accounts are by Ulrich Rüter and Virginia Heckert.

Rüter, Ulrich. „The Reception of Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön*." *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997), pp. 192-6.

Heckert, Virginia. "'Ich werde dafür tun, was irgend in meinen Kräften steht.' Carl Georg Heise und Albert Renger-Patzsch." In: *Die neue Sicht der Dinge. Carl Georg Heises Lübecker Photosammlung aus den 20er Jahren*. Exh. Cat. Hamburg/Lübeck: Hamburger Kunsthalle/Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, 1995, pp. 22-5.

²⁸⁵ Heise was an important advocate of modernism as the director of the Kunsthalle Hamburg between 1946 and 1955.

²⁸⁶ Benjamin, Walter. „Kleine Geschichte der Photographie." In: Benjamin, Walter. *Aura und Reflexion*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2007, p. 367.

factory other than this: what a beautiful world! ...Here we have a flagrant example of what it means to supply a productive apparatus without changing it.²⁸⁷

For Benjamin, the notion that buildings such as tenement housing – here, an obvious reference to poverty – could look alluring in Renger-Patzsch’s stylized, cool photographs posed a great danger: the political and economic circumstances that generated the tenement housing could be concealed or even glamorized, evading public scrutiny and criticism. Several critics have grappled with Benjamin’s criticism of Renger-Patzsch’s work. Criticism of an artist’s political attitude by Benjamin, a figure so idolized by cultural critics in the 1960s and 1970s, came close to a kiss of death, and is still a point of contention for most scholarship on Renger-Patzsch. Ann and Jürgen Wilde, still the principle holders of the Renger-Patzsch Archive, suggest that Benjamin, since he didn’t even mention Renger-Patzsch’s name, was conscious of the fact that he only knew a small part of his work.²⁸⁸ Correctly, Virginia Heckert points out that Benjamin was referring more to the title of the book and the text by Carl Georg Heise than to Renger-Patzsch’s photographs.²⁸⁹ Donald Kuspit, however, furiously argued that:

Benjamin failed Renger-Patzsch’s photographs, in a failure of seriousness as well as attention, of imagination as well as of intellect. It was an astonishing lapse for a thinker of Benjamin’s astuteness and powers of observation. Taking the shadow of a book, its readymade title, for its substance, he betrayed his attitude toward anything he could not press-gang into the social cause.²⁹⁰

The fact is, however, that Renger-Patzsch did become well known through the strongly promoted and widely distributed book with the catchy title. It is entirely valid to discuss, as Benjamin does, the atmosphere in which such a title and “sound-bite” images would be produced. In addition, Benjamin was not an art critic but a cultural critic, and as such did not primarily draw on the detailed formal aspects of the photographs, relying instead on their hypothetical mode of

²⁸⁷ Benjamin, Walter. “The Author as Producer.” (1934) In: Arato, Andrew/Gebhardt, Eike (eds.) *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*. New York: Continuum, 1982, p. 263.

²⁸⁸ Wilde (1982), p. 172.

²⁸⁹ Heckert, Virginia. “Ich werde dafür tun, was irgend in meinen Kräften steht, Carl Georg Heise und Albert Renger-Patzsch.” In: *Die neue Sicht der Dinge. Carl Georg Heises Lübecker Fotosammlung aus den 20er Jahren*. (1995), p. 24.

²⁹⁰ Donald Kuspit recounts Benjamin’s criticism of Renger-Patzsch’s work, but focuses only on the issue of photography, accusing Benjamin of having “fail[ed] to recognize that photographs have become cult objects, or, rather, were so from the beginning [...] because they extend memory, just as the telescope and microscope extend vision.” Kuspit seems concerned with defending Renger-Patzsch’s photographs against allegations of not being art. Benjamin’s definition of aura of the cult object does rely on its preciousness and singularity. Insofar, contemporary photography does not have the aura of the cult object. In any case, however, this is not a criticism. Benjamin precisely criticized the cult value of art objects as outdated and calling for technologically advanced art as an expression of politically progressive attitude. Kuspit (1993), pp. 7, 66-7, 74.

production and distribution. Still, most critics agree that Renger-Patzsch was falsely accused of being snobbish and artistically blasé in connection with *Die Welt ist schön*.²⁹¹ Several critics emphasized that the title, which was the focus of much criticism, was not Renger-Patzsch's idea. Heise, who organized the publication, had sent a list of title suggestions to Renger-Patzsch in 1928.²⁹² Renger-Patzsch disliked the title and later claimed he had favored the more deadpan titles *Die Dinge* or *Musterbuch der Dinge*.²⁹³ After the heavy criticism that *Die Welt ist schön* made motifs exchangeable, Renger-Patzsch did not complete a book project called *Die Form unserer Zeit*. Instead, he only published books that were thematically contained, such as the 1930 *Norddeutsche Backsteindome*.²⁹⁴

The Morals of Objectivity

The aesthetic of New Objectivity is often associated with a cool and distanced attitude and artistic persona, when in fact its extreme constructedness suggests a very intense artistic motivation. The entire spectrum of New Objectivity had gained immense popularity after 1961, when the first major exhibition was held in Berlin.²⁹⁵ Between 1945 and 1961, the movement was

²⁹¹ In his critical account of Renger-Patzsch's work, and photography in general, Klaus Honnef does concede that the selection of works in *Die Welt ist schön* does seem to "trivialize a brittle and angular reality."

Honnef, Klaus (ed.). *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Fotografien 1925-1960. Industrielandschaft, Industriearchitektur, Industrieprodukt*. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Kunstmuseum Bonn, 1977, p. 26.

²⁹² Heckert, Virginia. "Ich werde dafür tun, was irgend in meinen Kräften steht, Carl Georg Heise und Albert Renger-Patzsch." In: *Die neue Sicht der Dinge. Carl Georg Heises Lübecker Fotosammlung aus den 20er Jahren*. (1995), pp. 22-3.

In several letters, Carl Georg Heise made many suggestions on the title, the first planned title was *Die Freude am Gegenstand*, followed by *Augenfibel*, *Die kleine und die große Welt*, *Die Welt ist schön*, *Hundert Wunder*, and *Schaukunst*.

²⁹³ In a letter from Renger-Patzsch to Carl Buchheister dated September 11, 1928 (before the publication of the book) Renger-Patzsch called the title "rather unattractive."

Rump, Gerhard Charles (ed.). *Carl Buchheister (1890-1964). Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe*. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1980, p. 49.

The title of a 1966 exhibition associates Renger-Patzsch with his "original" intentions, but also with the new focus of minimal art on individual objects. American minimal art was very successful in Germany very early on and contemporary photographers such as Bernd and Hilla Becher were received in the context of minimal art.

Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge (1966).

See also:

Kempe, Fritz. "The World Is Beautiful. A Model of Objects and Things." In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. 100 Photographs 1928*. Exh. Cat. Paris/Bielefeld/Munich: Beaubourg/Kunsthalle Bielefeld/Neue Sammlung, 1979, p. 7. (Text originally published in *Camera Magazin*, 1978)

²⁹⁴ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Norddeutsche Backsteindome*. Text by Walter Burmeister. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1930.

²⁹⁵ According to Jost Hermand, there were 10 exhibitions on Neue Sachlichkeit between 1966 and 1977. Hermand, Jost. *Die Kultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1965-1985*. Frankfurt/Main: Ullstein, 1988, p. 354.

even considered proto-fascist by art historians Franz Roh and Alois Schardt because of its apparent rejection of abstraction.²⁹⁶ During the sixties, seventies, and eighties, most art historians focused on New Objectivity as an aesthetic that was suppressed after 1933 by the Nazis.²⁹⁷ This “whitewashing,” criticized by Lisa Saltzman and Olaf Peters, among others, has been questioned since the late seventies.²⁹⁸ Literary historian Helmut Lethen has succinctly described New Objectivity, a style also found in the prose of the twenties, as a pose assumed after the shock of World War I: “The familiar horizons of the Wilhelmine empire are gone. After the loss of the authoritative system, people experience the immediate confrontation with modernity as a freezing shock.”²⁹⁹ According to Lethen, feelings of insecurity and shame led to the expression of a “culture of distance” and an obsession with empiricism and unemotional “objectivity.”³⁰⁰ Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century conservatives tended to associate the style of

The earliest were:

Neue Sachlichkeit. Exh. Cat. Berliner Festspielwochen 1961. Berlin: Haus am Waldsee, 1961.

Neue Sachlichkeit 1920 bis 1933. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Galerie Rudolf Zwirner, 1965.

Magischer Realismus in Deutschland 1920-1933. Introduction by Günter Aust. Wuppertal: Kunst- und Museumsverein, 1967.

Schmied, Wieland. *Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus in Deutschland 1918-1933*. Hannover: Fackelträger Verlag, 1969.

²⁹⁶ Schardt classified the origin of New Objectivity as petty bourgeois.

Peters, Olaf. „Eine demokratische Kunst?“ In: *Zeitnah Weltfern. Bilder der Neuen Sachlichkeit*. Exh. Cat. Würzburg: Städtische Galerie Würzburg 1998, pp. 21-22.

Also:

Breuer, Gerda (ed.). *Die Zähmung der Avantgarde*. Basel: Stroemfeld Roter Stern, 1997.

²⁹⁷ Willett, John. *The New Sobriety 1917-1933*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.

Schütz, Erhard (ed.). *Der Scheinwerfer: ein Forum der neuen Sachlichkeit 1927 – 1933*. Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 1986.

Heller, Reinhold (ed.). *Vom Expressionismus zum Widerstand: Kunst in Deutschland 1909 – 1936. Die Sammlung Marvin und Janet Fishman*. Exh. Cat. Munich: Prestel, 1991.

²⁹⁸ Saltzman, Lisa. *Anselm Kiefer and Art after Auschwitz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 103-4.

Oellers, Adam C., „Zur Frage der Kontinuität von Neuer Sachlichkeit und Nationalsozialistischer Kunst.“ *kritische Berichte*, vol. 6 (1978), no. 6, pp. 42-54.

The most comprehensive revisions of Neue Sachlichkeit and its image are by Olaf Peters, who points out that several Neue Sachlichkeit painters (Dörries, Peiner, and Wissel) became successful Nazi artists and that Neue Sachlichkeit had been criticized as protofascist and petty bourgeois since the 1940s.

Peters, Olaf. *Neue Sachlichkeit und Nationalsozialismus. Affirmation und Kritik 1931-1947*. Berlin: Reimer 1998.

Peters, Olaf. “Eine demokratische Kunst? – Aspekte der neuen Sachlichkeit seit 1930.” In: *Zeitnah Weltfern. Bilder der Neuen Sachlichkeit*. Exh. Cat. Würzburg: Städtische Galerie Würzburg 1998, pp. 21-28.

²⁹⁹ Lethen, Helmut. *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany*. Berkeley, CA et al.: Univ. of California Press, 2002, p. ix.

³⁰⁰ Helmut Lethen describes the 1920s as a period of “extreme desorganisation where tradition breaks down and morals lack persuasiveness” and which necessitated “identitätsstiftende Verhaltenslehren.”

Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1994, p. 7.

“objectivity” with decadent, vulgar materialism, not with a desire for “authenticity.”³⁰¹ So even while “objectivity” had become the highest professional and moral goal of late nineteenth-century scientists, especially with regard to their visual materials, the use of the term led to embittered polemics within early twentieth-century art and architectural criticism.³⁰²

For his book *Norddeutsche Backsteindome*, Renger-Patzsch was paid the large sum of RMK 6000 for the first edition of eight thousand copies. But he had been required by his publisher *Deutscher Kunstverlag* to collaborate with art historian Walter Burmeister, who wrote a text for the book. Renger-Patzsch, who traveled by car, had to take Burmeister along for at least three hundred takes. But Renger-Patzsch and Burmeister fought: Burmeister sloppily rearranged the 128 photographs, which Renger-Patzsch had arranged according to a system that proceeded from site plan to detail. Even worse, he tried to give the images subtitles such as “*Gebete aus Stein*.”³⁰³ For Renger-Patzsch, who liked to fashion himself as a serious ascetic, such lofty romanticism was unbearable. Even more so, he distanced himself from the art world and “the artists:” “Überlassen wir die Kunst den Künstlern, und versuchen wir, mit den Mitteln der Photographie Photographien zu schaffen, die durch ihre ‘photographischen’ Qualitäten bestehen können – ohne daß wir von der Kunst borgen.”³⁰⁴ In 1963 he strongly reemphasized this position,

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 188.

³⁰² Daston, Lorraine/Galison, Peter. “The Image of Objectivity.” *Representations* 40 (Autumn 1992), pp. 81-128.

³⁰³ Pfingsten, Claus. „Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897-1966).“ In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch: Architektur im Blick des Fotografen 1897-1966*. Exh. Cat. Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 1998, pp. 10-11.

While the titles became more factual, the (mis)arrangement remained. The introductory text by Burmeister was nationalistic:

“Das Bestreben, neugeschaffene Verhältnisse straff zu organisieren, wohnt dem deutschen Menschen inne, und in der jungen Staatenwelt des Ostens prägt sich bald eine konsequente Gruppenbildung aus. Derselbe fast überall ähnliche Urtyp entwickelt sich in jeder Landschaft etwas anders, der Ausdruckswille arbeitet hier diese, dort andere Züge heraus.”

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Norddeutsche Backsteindome*. Text by Walter Burmeister. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1930, p. 9.

The third edition of the book includes new photographs of cathedrals in former Poland and text by Walter Burmeister:

“Seit dem ersten Erscheinen dieses Buches ist mehreres anders geworden. Damals wurden dem deutschen Photographen noch von seiten der polnischen Behörden Aufnahmen der alten Kirchen von Thorn verboten. So fehlten in der Bilderfolge bisher die Baudenkmäler des von Polen beherrschten Westpreußen. Inzwischen hat das deutsche Schwert, gleich anderen, auch diesem unhaltbaren Zustande ein Ende gemacht.”

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Norddeutsche Backsteindome*. Text by Walter Burmeister. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1943 (third edition), p. 6.

The publishing house Deutscher Kunstverlag also planned to publish several other titles that were never realized such as *Süddeutscher Barock* and *Land am Oberrhein*, for which a contract was made in January 1942 and which was to be published in the series *Deutsche Lande/Deutsche Kunst*. The book was not realized due to the war, and only exists in 10 handbound copies.

³⁰⁴ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. “Ziele.” *Das Deutsche Lichtbild* 1 (1927), p. 18

backed by pseudoscientific language, in response to the assertion that photography was an art, and he an artist:

Photographs should be documents; if they are not, then they belong in the dustbin – where in fact 99.99999% of all photographic production belongs. That this is in fact my opinion should be clear to you from my reserve [*Zurückhaltung*] as regards both the choice and my treatment of subjects, and above all from my unrelenting distance to art and the avoidance of any effects.³⁰⁵

For Renger-Patzsch, the term “artist” was probably so negatively valenced because of the bohemian image of the artist in the Weimar Republic, with all the impulsivity and lack of discipline associated with modernism’s need for originality. Positive reviews of Renger-Patzsch often emphasize his work ethic and his dedication to precision and technical aspects of photography. In his 1942 portrait of Renger-Patzsch, Heise stressed Renger-Patzsch’s “unsentimental” attitude: “Rengers Verdienst ist es, [die Fotografie] unsentimental und *werkgerecht* auf eigene Füße gestellt zu haben.”³⁰⁶ According to some contemporaries, Renger-Patzsch’s photos were indeed new and physically cathartic, redefining modern everyday surroundings as part of a new aesthetics while also “wash[ing] away the trash and rubbish of ‘pictorial’ photography from the eyes of his generation.”³⁰⁷ Renger-Patzsch’s friend, the former curator for photography at the Landesbildstelle Hamburg Fritz Kempe, describes the *Die Welt ist schön* as “a beacon light of sincerity for young people of the time.”³⁰⁸ In addition to his own work ethic, Renger-Patzsch considered his photographs the only adequate expression of appreciation for other’s work. He was convinced that verbal or written criticism (“*Besprechung*”) of objects and buildings was a method of discussion inferior to visual, photographic representation.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Kempe, Fritz. „Albert Renger-Patzsch, Mensch und Werk.“ In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge* (1966), n.p.

³⁰⁶ Heise (1942), pp. 4, 18.

“Man wird erst bei längerem zeitlichem Abstand erkennen, wie sehr Rengers geistvolle Präzisionsarbeit Wesen und Schönheit industrieller Anlagen, technischer Vorgänge, bestimmter Serienprodukte und Materialien einer neuen ästhetischen Bewertungen erschlossen hat.”

³⁰⁷ Kempe, Fritz. “The World Is Beautiful. A Model of Objects and Things.” In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. 100 Photographs 1928*. Exh. Cat. Paris/Bielefeld/Munich: Beaubourg/Kunsthalle Bielefeld/Neue Sammlung, 1979, p. 7. (Text originally published in *Camera Magazin*, 1978)

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Indeed, photographers that considered themselves artists still considered blurriness as a distinguishing attribute of artistic photography as opposed to the exactness of scientific photography.

Ullrich, Wolfgang. “Unschärfe, Antomodernismus und Avantgarde.” In: Geimer, Peter (ed.). *Ordnungen der Sichtbarkeit. Fotografie in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technologie*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2002, pp. 381-412.

The first book in which photographs are credited to Renger-Patzsch is the photobook on the choir stalls at the medieval church at Capenberg published by his employer at the time, the Auriga Verlag. The book

Yet in the 1966 catalogue *Fotograf der Dinge*, Fritz Kempe also described Renger-Patzsch's attitude as morose:

Renger-Patzsch hat Zeit seines Lebens einen Horror vor allen Grenzüberschreitungen der Fotografie in die Bezirke der Bildenden Kunst besessen... mit Hilfe seiner einmal als richtig erkannten Technik brachte Renger-Patzsch es fertig, im scheinbar wirren Durcheinander eine Industrielandschaft, im natürlichen Gestrüpp eine üppigen Niederungsdschungels, im Unterholz von Zivilisation und Vegetation noch Ordnung zu stiften. Durch sein zuchtvolles, sich selbst treubleibendes Werk wurde er zum Moralisten.³¹⁰

And unlike the protagonists of New Objectivity (and many of its late twentieth century critics) proclaimed, the photographs' cold, sharp aesthetic was not necessarily shocking to those familiar with contemporary art, as is evidenced by Kurt Tucholsky's criticism probably of Renger-Patzsch's photographs in *Die Welt ist schön* which he found too obviously experimental:

Die Sonne vermag selbst die ödesten Mietskasernen zu verklären, und scharfe Schlagschatten können aus Zündholzschachteln Tapetenmuster oder Vorsatzpapiere schaffen. Die etwas absichtlich erscheinenden Versuche aber, an normalisierten Zweckbauten, an nüchternen Fabrikgebäuden usw. besondere Schönheiten zu entdecken, werden nicht überall auf Verständnis rechnen dürfen. Wenn wirklich eine künstlerische Aufgabe gelöst, das Typische erfaßt und geschildert werden soll, dann müßten an solchen Objekten wohl eher Monotonie und Trostlosigkeit dargestellt sein.³¹¹

Monotony and desolation of the modern built environment were indeed the subject of some paintings of the New Objectivity. Even if architecture was often used as a backdrop for portraits, it figured prominently in several paintings. Anton Räderscheidt's 1923 *Selbstportrait in Industrielandschaft*, for instance, shows a grey dandy-esque male figure in a desolate space in front of two simple building blocks with black, empty windows (fig. 2.4).³¹² Leonhard Schmidt's

contains a very short introductory text, that shows Renger-Patzsch's interest in arts and crafts and explains his joining the Werkbund in the same year: "Welche Lösungen der Meister von Cappenberg für die ungemein enge Aufgabe, Knäufe von immer gleichbleibender Größe und Gestalt zu schaffen, gefunden hat, ist eine so ungemeine Leistung, daß jede Besprechung nur die Wirkung verkümmern kann."³⁰⁹

The Auriga-Verlag (founded as Folkwang Verlag in 1919 by Karl Ernst Osthaus, changed to Auriga Verlag in 1923) was another publishing house that emphasized documentary photographs.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Das Chorgestühl von Cappenberg*. Berlin: Auriga, 1925, n.p.

³¹⁰ Kempe, Fritz. „Albert Renger-Patzsch, Mensch und Werk.“ In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge* (1966), n.p.

³¹¹ Panter, Peter (alias Kurt Tucholsky). „Den Deutschen Lichtbildnern.“ *Das Deutsche Lichtbild* (1930), n.p.

³¹² Image in:

Zeitnah Weltfern. Bilder der Neuen Sachlichkeit. Exh. Cat. Würzburg: Städtische Galerie Würzburg 1998, p. 46.

Many New Objectivity paintings share a bleak aesthetic attitude, which has been commented on by Beate

painting *Weissenhof* from 1930 is not quite as drab – along with white and beige façades, it features a stripe of warm red and a façade on its right side. However, no human beings are to be seen, and a large part of the lower half of the painting is taken up by an empty, monochromatically grey sidewalk.³¹³

Many scholars have emphasized Renger-Patzsch's self-proclaimed interest in "scientific documentation."³¹⁴ According to Claus Pffingsten, Renger-Patzsch's motive in commercial architectural photographs was his "responsibility [to produce] visual evidence of the functional coherence and, in particular, the aesthetic design of industrial structures."³¹⁵ In a 1965 lecture, Renger-Patzsch regretted the loss of the negatives of the *Preußische Meßbildanstalt* (discussed in this Introduction) because of their precision, documentary value, and useability.³¹⁶ In 1968, Renger-Patzsch described the method of photographs made for the *Preußische Meßbildanstalt* as a model for "responsible" photography.³¹⁷ Renger-Patzsch himself felt that he could best fulfill these standards in landscape photography and insisted that he had an *obligation* to "document" landscape in particular, with modernist conviction that there is a "right" and a "wrong."³¹⁸

Reese.

Reese, Beate. *Melancholie in der Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit*. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, et al.: Lang, 1998.

There are many publications on the portrait in the 1920s, one of the most recent is:

Fleckner, Uwe. *Neue Sachlichkeit – Das wahre Gesicht unserer Zeit. Bilder vom Menschen in der Neuen Sachlichkeit*. Exh. Cat. Kiel: Kunsthalle, 2004.

³¹³ Image in:

Fath, Manfred. *Neue Sachlichkeit: Bilder auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit. Figurative Malerei der zwanziger Jahre*. Exh. Cat. Munich: Prestel, 1994, p. 88.

Several images are compiled in the small exhibition catalogue *Umwelt 1920*, which was supported by the Senator für Gesundheit und Umweltschutz, undoubtedly a new title at the time.

Schnackenburg, Bernhard (ed.). *Umwelt 1920. Das Bild der städtischen Umwelt in der Kunst der Neuen Sachlichkeit*. Exh. Cat. Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen, 1977.

³¹⁴ Pffingsten (1991), pp. 26-27.

³¹⁵ Pffingsten, Claus. "Albert Renger-Patzsch. Early Industrial Photography." *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997), p. 189.

³¹⁶ "Es ist ein unersetzlicher Verlust, daß das ganze Negativmaterial vernichtet wurde."

Kempe, Fritz. „Albert Renger-Patzsch, Mensch und Werk.“ In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Der Fotograf der Dinge* (1966), n.p.

³¹⁷ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. "Vom Sinn der Fotografie und der Verantwortlichkeit des Fotografen." *Werk und Zeit* (July 7 and 8, 1968), p. 2.

³¹⁸ "Vielleicht ist sein eigenstes Feld die Landschaft. Die romantische, nur dem Pinsel des Malers erfassbare, wie das stimmungsvolle Momentbild liegen ihm fern. [...] Er zielt auf das Wesentliche auf das Gesicht der Landschaft, auf das Dokumentarische. Am liebsten sind ihm die noch unerschlossenen Gebiete. So ist er zum Entdecker der Industrielandschaft geworden, zum Darsteller dessen, was er selbst als 'Einbruch des Menschen in die Natur' bezeichnet. Unsentimental, unerbittlich macht er seine Feststellungen. [...] Sein Auge schweift nicht, sondern fixiert einen Gegenstand, fast ist man versucht zu sagen: er spießt ihn erbarmungslos auf. Damit nimmt er ihm zugleich seine Schrecken, er bannt die Gespenster der modernen Zivilisation, indem er mit dem Mut zur Wahrhaftigkeit ihren symbolischen Gehalt im Rahmen einer unausweichlichen Menschheitsentwicklung bloßlegt. Das hat Renger in den Augen schwärmender Naturfotografen zum Sonderling, zum Liebhaber des Häßlichen, der Nachtseiten des

Genau wie das Bildnis sollte auch die Landschaft in erster Linie ähnlich sein. Nicht Täuschung über den wahren Sachverhalt, sondern Aufzeigen des Wesentlichen sollte unser Grundsatz sein. Wer die Landschaft kennt, der muss sie auch im Foto sofort erkennen, wer sie nicht kennt, muß einen richtigen Begriff davon bekommen. So sollten wir die Wiedergabe der 'Landschaft als Dokument' wie eine Verpflichtung auffassen, die für uns mehr Reiz hat, als die Aufnahmen pompöser Sonnenuntergänge, die für Mondscheinaufnahmen ausgegeben werden. Kurz ausgedrückt: nicht fotografisches Glücksrittertum, sondern *Dienst* an der Aufgabe.³¹⁹

Renger-Patzsch criticized the desire to produce "*Phantasielandschaft[en]*" by means of pictorial photography or emotive captions.³²⁰ But Renger-Patzsch's landscape photographs are essentially nostalgic representations, a view supported by Renger-Patzsch's invocation of the Renaissance engraver Matthäus Merian (1593-1650), famous for *Topographia Germaniae*, the most comprehensive publications of the time, featuring several thousand plans and elevations of German towns:³²¹

Immer mehr zerstört der wachsende Verkehr die ursprüngliche Eigenart der Landschaft, und wir selbst konnten und können es jeden Tag erleben, wie schöne alte Bauernhäuser verschwinden [...]. Es wäre falsch, diese Entwicklung zu verdammen, die notwendig bedingt ist durch das Anwachsen der Industrie und die Bildung von Großstädten. Doch müssen wir die Verpflichtung fühlen, unsern Nachkommen das Bild der Landschaft unserer Zeit zu übermitteln, wie unsere Vorfahren es auch taten, ich erinnere an Merian.³²²

Lebens gemacht."

Here, Heise is most likely referring to Walter Benjamin's scathing criticism of the representation of late nineteenth and early twentieth century lower-class mass tenement housing, the "Mietskaserne."

Heise (1942), p. 12.

³¹⁹"Von den Grenzen der Fotografie. Aus den Aufsätzen von Albert Renger-Patzsch." In: Heise (1942), pp. 20-21.

Last two sentences are also in: Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Sylt – Bild einer Insel*. Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1936, n.p.

³²⁰ Ibid., n.p.

³²¹ "Renger-Patzsch's Landschaftsfotographien sind als Suche nach Zeichen für bleibende Werte, für Typus und Wesen des Natur- bzw. Landschaftsgegenstandes zu sehen, die er auf der optisch wahrnehmbaren Gegenstandsfläche zu erfahren glaubte. Diese durch gezielt-begrenzten Ausschnitt und präzise Abbildungsgenauigkeit fotografisch objektivierten Werte bestimmter Landschaftsphänomene bot er als "Material" der wissenschaftlichen Deutung an."

Pfingsten (1991), p. 23.

³²² Cited in: Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Sylt – Bild einer Insel*. Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1936, n.p.

"Von den Grenzen der Fotografie. Aus den Aufsätzen von Albert Renger-Patzsch." In: Heise (1942), pp. 21-22.

Framing Industrial Landscapes

In 1926, art historian Oskar Schürer identified photographs by Renger-Patzsch as the adequate form of representation of industrial dynamics.³²³ Architects such as Fritz Schupp and Martin Kemmer (*Zollverein, Nordstern, Germania, Bonifazius, and Alma-Pluto*) hired Renger-Patzsch to photograph new structures on mining plants around Essen, but photographs of entire plants were only rarely commissioned. (Exceptions include the *Gutehoffnungshütte* in Oberhausen, 1928-30, and the *Ruhrkohle-RWKS* in Essen, 1928-30.) But Renger-Patzsch, according to Heise, felt a particular obligation to document his immediate surroundings and privately set out to produce a large number of photographs showing the industrialization of the Ruhr Valley.³²⁴ The series, of which only 150 photographs still exist, was produced between 1927 and 1935.³²⁵ Renger-Patzsch's concept of landscape was not limited to rural or "natural" scenes, but included cultivated urban and industrial spaces.³²⁶ Thus most of the photographs of industrial spaces with plants or workers' housing are simply titled "industrial landscapes" (*"Industriellandschaft"*), suggesting a "natural" development. In one of the few texts on the Ruhr Valley (*"Ruhrgebiet"*) series, critic Hans Scheuer claims that the motifs of Renger-Patzsch's

³²³ "Das Wesen des Industrialismus treibt in einer unerhörten Sachlichkeit. Arbeit wie Maschine, Dienst und Werk sind von dieser Sachlichkeit bestimmt. Wer den Geist des Industrialismus gestalten will, muß aber über solche Sachlichkeit verfügen ... Die Fotografie ist mit ihrem eigensten Wesen dazu berufen, die innere Dynamik des industriellen Gefüges wiederzugeben. Die ihr immanente Sachlichkeit findet ihr Gegenbeispiel in der Sachlichkeit, die in der Industrie bestimmend ist. Renger-Patzsch sucht nicht das Pathetische des industriellen Geschehens, wie es in manchen Hymnen ausposaunt wird. Auch nicht das Abschreckende eines entmenschten Betriebs, sondern gibt den Betrieb selbst, das ungeheuer Dynamische seiner Funktionen."

Schürer, Oskar. "Industrialismus und Photographie." *Der Satrap. Blätter für Freunde der Lichtbildkunst*, vol. 2 (1926).

³²⁴ The photographs had received little recognition during Renger-Patzsch's life. According to Thomas Janzen, these photographs had not been commissioned.

Wilde (1982), p. 22.

Janzen, Thomas. *Albert Renger-Patzsch – Photographien des Ruhrgebiets. Zwischen der Stadt*. Ostfildern: edition tertium, 1996.

³²⁵ According to Thomas Janzen, it is unclear how many images belonged to the series as many may have been destroyed when Renger-Patzsch's studio was bombed in 1944.

Ibid., p. 11.

³²⁶ Pfingsten (1991), p. 31.

Lübeck (1928) was Renger-Patzsch's first book on a city, next was *Dresden. Ein Bilderbuch für die Teilnehmer an der Deutschen Lehrerversammlung* (1929), which also includes photos by others such as Moholy-Nagy and Umbo, finally *Hamburg* in 1930. *Lübeck* was financed by the Tourism and Traffic commission ("Verkehrsausschuss") of the city and was met with approval regarding its portrayal of the city by local journalists.

Heckert, Virginia. "'Ich werde dafür tun, was irgend in meinen Kräften steht.' Carl Georg Heise und Albert Renger-Patzsch." In: *Die neue Sicht der Dinge. Carl Georg Heises Lübecker Photosammlung aus den 20er Jahren* (1995), p. 21.

Ruhrgebiet photographs are arbitrary and that he was mainly interested in stylistic aspects.³²⁷ Donald Kuspit frames Renger-Patzsch as a romantic who “surely wants to show that the Ruhr is not all industrial wasteland.” As evidence of this “conflict” Kuspit describes an image of “middle-class houses on this sedate and quiet road... covered with vines, suggesting vital, happy life within” in contrast with Renger-Patzsch’s supposedly less happy photographs of “living quarters of miners,” simplistically identifying social criticism in the difference between the choice of motifs.³²⁸ Referring to the photograph *Landschaft bei Essen, im Hintergrund die Zeche Rosenblumendelle* Kuspit also falls for the frame-work house trap, assuming a conflict between industrialization and “tradition”: “between traditional culture, represented by the old timberbeamed peasant’s house, isolated by the roadside – it was probably once in the middle of a field – and modernity, represented by the industrial complex.”³²⁹ In fact, the first mining pit in the Rosenblumendelle was already excavated in the mid-eighteenth century, and it is likely that the framework house dates to this time period or later, judging from its stylistic and constructive features.³³⁰ In any case, it can be assumed that industrialization was not necessarily met with rejection by “peasants,” whose life in pre-industrial times had certainly not been idyllic. Furthermore, particularly upon expansion in 1928, the Rosenblumendelle colliery would have represented job opportunities for most workers and remaining peasants, whereas its counterparts “Humboldt” and “Hagenbeck” were being shut down.³³¹

Here, Renger-Patzsch’s images of suburban workers’ housing (“Vorstadthäuser”) present a very complex picture rich with apparent clues and productive contradictions. *Häuser in Essen-Segeroth* (1932), for instance, shows a row of late nineteenth-century three- or four-story residential houses with typical Gründerzeit decorations (fig. 2.5).³³² In the foreground, eight male workers are meeting. The row of houses was obviously built in an area of low density and development, and construction must have stopped some time before the picture was taken in 1932, as the row of closely-built houses suddenly ends before the right and left edges of the image, and the road is still a dirt road. While the group of men standing in the foreground of the

³²⁷ Scheurer, Hans. “Expeditionen ins Niemandsland. Fotografen sehen das Ruhrgebiet.” In: Eskildsen, Ute/Borsdorf, Ulrich. *Endlich so wie überall? Bilder und Texte aus dem Ruhrgebiet*. Essen: Kulturstiftung Ruhr, 1987, p. 96.

³²⁸ Kuspit, Donald. “A Critical-Biographical Profile.” In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Joy Before the Object*. New York: Aperture Foundation, 1993, p. 70.

Another citation: “The photographs of the Ruhr as a human wasteland suggest the difficulty of adapting to industrialization.”

Kuspit (1993), p. 72

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 70.

³³⁰ <http://www.foerdergerueste.de/rosenblumendelle.htm>

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Wilde (1982), fig. 59, n. p.

picture might be unemployed, the setting does not look like an image of urban industrial poverty: the spaciousness, the sunlit façades, and shadows of trees on the dirt road all suggest otherwise. Essen-Segeroth was in fact a new suburb of Essen that had been developed in the last third of the nineteenth century as a consequence of the economic boom and the dramatic threefold increase of population (to fifty-six thousand) in the town of Essen, the headquarters of Krupp. Housing in Essen-Segeroth was quickly built and had a very high density: over eight thousand people lived there in 1886, and forty thousand by the 1930s. Segeroth had been a stronghold of the communist party until the NSDAP became the second strongest party in the late 1920s. Nazis “cleansed” the highly heterogeneous neighborhood of “non-Aryans.” The quarter was bombed in 1943, torn down in the 1960s, and later became the site for Essen’s university.³³³

Siedlung Froschlake in Dortmund (1930) shows the undecorated side of two single suburban houses in the industrial suburbs of Essen in a sunny setting. It was most likely also taken in Essen-Segeroth.³³⁴ An old barbed wire fence and a mound of earth frame and overlay the entire foreground of the photograph. Renger-Patzsch has obviously placed himself behind the fence and earth mound, but is suspiciously watched by two men looking back at him from the distance. Where Schultze-Naumburg desparately tries to imbue at least his “positive” examples with human-like character (if only through his corresponding texts), here houses are rendered inanimate through the depiction of the façade as a flat surface upon which the effects of light and shadow form patterns. The surface also serves as a stage, populated by images that hold some type of animate elements, such as bystanders or traces of human behavior.

The photograph ‘*Eiserne Hand*’ in *Essen* (1929) functions similarly: it shows a road in the foreground of the image with a large, bright concrete wall enclosing what must be an industrial complex, judging from the two brick smokestacks visible behind the wall and the nine smokestacks in the distance. The wall is photographed from the oblique corner on which a large chalk graffiti reads: “Die Arbeiter müssen Siegen Wählt L. 9.” A small chalk swastika above the numeral 9 is only visible upon close examination of the photograph.³³⁵ The political statement in the eerily empty and otherwise sterile setting confuses the viewer but also highlights Renger-Patzsch’s selectiveness with regards to the motif and its framing.

While the housing in Renger-Patzsch’s images might at first glance seem cold and lifeless, according to Dieter Thoma, housing developments themselves represented a great

³³³ Stadt Essen (ed.). *Perspektivenwerkstatt Essen: Wie geht es weiter am Berliner Platz? Ergebnisbericht April 1999*. Essen: Stadt Essen, 1999, pp. 17-18.

³³⁴ Wilde (1982), fig. 40, n. p.

³³⁵ Ibid., fig. 4, n. p.

improvement in standards of living for most migrant workers.³³⁶ Mining work was hard, and working conditions were bad, so the relative abundance of housing provided workers in the newly developed suburbs with better living conditions than those in more rural areas. The latter were industrialized earlier and on a smaller scale; in the Siegerland, for example, few new developments were added after the turn of the century, and mining families still depended on additional income from small-scale agriculture. The negative image the Ruhr Valley still has today as a dirty and unhealthy place blackened from coal smoke dates to the early twentieth century, when middle-class and upper-middle class reformers (discussed in Chapter One) advocated a healthy lifestyle. But this criticism was very likely little-known among working class citizens, for whom the reformers' agenda and antics might have seemed superfluous, particularly since the Ruhr Valley residents had fallen prey to Allied politics during the 1923 "Ruhrkrise," when Belgian and French troops occupied the Ruhr Valley area after Germany failed to pay WWI reparations.

Benjamin's accusation that New Objectivity was "slumming" in workers' living quarters is rebutted in the context of Renger-Patzsch's extensive and varied choice of motifs, which indicate a genuine interest in the Ruhr Valley region. Still, the fascination with the industrial lent itself to a certain dramatization, which is as much part of Renger-Patzsch's work as any other early twentieth-century artist's. Bernhard Mensch and Peter Pachnike called attention to the drama in the representation of industrial structures in their exhibition entitled "Pathos und Tragik: Schönheit der Industriekultur und die Erinnerung an die Schicksale von Mensch und Natur: bilden den Spannungsbogen, in dem Mythos und Drama der 150jährigen Vergangenheit dieser Region für die Zukunft aufgehoben und gestaltet sein wollen."³³⁷ While conservatives decried the destructive effects of industrialization on traditional culture, avant-garde artists and critics glamorized them. Critic Wolfgang Born, for instance, wrote in 1930:

What is needed, to begin with, is the courage to tackle reality head-on... Take, for example, a construction site. Naked walls growing out of a patch of excavated earth surrounded by planks and wheelbarrows, bricks and cranes. A scaffolding of interlocking pipes, carrying, supporting, rising, higher and higher; and, ornamentally set off against this bright web of lines: the silhouettes of the workers. Is this ugly? A mind attuned to the nature of things perceives an elegant play of wonderful ordered forces, the lawful harmony of their equilibrium, the rhythm of the movements of working people that has so often

³³⁶ Thoma, Dieter. "Im Ruhrgebiet." In: *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³³⁷ Mensch, Bernhard. "Kunstschätze der Industriekultur." In: Mensch, Bernhard/Pachnike, Peter (eds.). *Pathos der Sachlichkeit. Die Entdeckung der Schönheit der Industriekultur. Meisterwerke der Fotografie von: Albert Renger-Patzsch, Karl Blossfeldt, August Sander, Chargesheimer, Bernd und Hilla Becher*. Exh. Cat. Oberhausen: Plitt, 2001, p. 9.

been felt to be aesthetically fruitful.³³⁸

The term “ugly” (“*hässlich*”) was used frequently as a criticism of industrial and urban modernist photography, but was soon coopted by its defenders and used to argue for the development of a more sophisticated taste. The notion that the industrial and its representations were ugly was dismissed by many modernists as naïve and unsophisticated. In fact, the notion that industrial structures were considered ugly and brutish might have even fed into a certain modernist machismo adoration of the industrial, evident for instance in Mies van der Rohe’s statements: “Nichts ist hässlich in dieser Welt der technischen Erfindungen, der Maschinen und tausend Gebrauchsgegenstände.” Much later, photographer Hans Namuth (1915-1990) claimed he first encountered the extravagance of Renger-Patzsch’s photograph of an Essen smokestack in a shop window in Essen as a teenager: “This was clearly a new way of celebrating the ugly and banal.”³³⁹

The boundaries between progressive and reactionary views regarding the cultural canon were fluid and complicated. Next to the cultural conservatives, there were the progressive “*Kulturliberale*,” some of whom coined terms like “*Kultursozialismus*” or “*Der neue Mensch*.” But there were also the progressive cultural conservatives such as the woman’s rights activist Gertrud Bäumer, who believed that social reforms would be more likely with a stable cultural backdrop.³⁴⁰ The seemingly inevitable societal and economic changes led to a preoccupation with the potential influence of “left over” culture. Pedagogical concepts remained eminently important, and Renger-Patzsch’s work was discussed for its pedagogical value. In a review of Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön* in a 1929 issue of *Form*, Walter Riezler applauds the book’s “optimism” and pedagogical importance:

Gerade für uns, die wir stets an die ‘Einheit der Welt’ geglaubt haben und uns gegen die Lehre von der Verhäßlichung der Welt durch die Technik gewehrt haben, ist sein Schaffen eine schöne Bestätigung. Es spricht ein echter, nicht flacher, sondern tiefer Optimismus aus diesen Büchern und verleiht ihnen auch eine erzieherische Bedeutung, von der die Schulen recht bald und ausgiebig Gebrauch machen sollten.³⁴¹

³³⁸ Born, Wolfgang. “Photographic Weltanschauung.” In: Phillips, (1989), p. 157.

³³⁹ Namuth, Hans. “Albert Renger-Patzsch. ‘The World in Beautiful.’” *Artnews*, vol. 80, no. 10 (1981), p. 136.

³⁴⁰ Saldern, Adelheid von. “Massenkultur im Visier. Ein Beitrag zu den Deutungs- und Einwirkungsversuchen während der Weimarer Republik.” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, no. 33 (1993), pp. 21-58.

Cf. Saldern, Adelheid von. “‘Kunst für’s Volk.’ Vom Kulturkonservatismus zur nationalsozialistischen Kulturpolitik. In: MarBolek/Wildt (1999), pp. 169-204.

³⁴¹ Riezler, Walter. „Buchbesprechung.“ *Die Form. Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit*, vol. 4 (1929), p. 24.

Carl Georg Heise claimed that Renger-Patzsch's photographs "educated the viewer to see independently."³⁴² Leftist sociologist Paul Honigsheim (1885-1963) addressed several issues at stake in his concept of "*Industriepädagogik*." Honigsheim, who was a member of the Social Democratic Party, championed *Volksbildung*, which in his opinion would empower workers.³⁴³ Honigsheim, like Schultze-Naumburg, had sensed that industrialization might cause disintegration:

Von Industriepädagogik wird im folgenden die Rede sein. Dabei ist nicht nur an all die pädagogische Betätigung gedacht, die von seiten irgendwelcher Kreise an denjenigen Menschen ausgeübt wird, die unmittelbar in die industrielle Produktion einbezogen sind, sondern es soll das ganze Problem hier ins Auge gefaßt werden, inwiefern überhaupt innerhalb der Zeit der voranschreitenden Industrialisierung an Jugendlichen und an Erwachsenen erzieherisch gehandelt werden kann.³⁴⁴

Contrary to Schultze-Naumburg and other conservatives who later turned reactionary, Honigsheim sought to use industrialization to conceive of mass education that would utilize industrialization's social and technological effects in order to create equal opportunity of acquiring cultural education: "Die Mentalität des Menschen, der in die industrialistisch produzierende Welt einbezogen worden ist, erfaßt langsam eine Schicht nach der anderen, und zwar bis in das letzte Dorf hinein."³⁴⁵

The perceived massification and standardization of society was often addressed in the visual arts, particularly by artists associated with the New Objectivity style. Cologne artist Gerd Arntz (1900-88), for example, called his work "*kritische Grafik und Bildstatistik*."³⁴⁶ One of

³⁴² Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Lübeck. Achtzig photographische Aufnahmen von Albert Renger-Patzsch*. Introduction by Carl Georg Heise. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1928, p. 14.

³⁴³ Not many of Honigsheim's writings were published, partly because he was so busy and uprooted, but he was a highly influential teacher in Cologne and later at Michigan State University. Silbermann, Alphons and Röhrig, Paul (eds.). *Kultur, Volksbildung und Gesellschaft. Paul Honigsheim zum Gedenken seines 100. Geburtstages*. Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1987, pp. 153-4.

³⁴⁴ Honigsheim, Paul. *Menschenbildung und Industriepädagogik*. In: *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-4.

³⁴⁶ Publications by Arntz:

Arntz, Gerd. "bewegung in kunst und statistik." *a-z*, 1 (1930), pp. 8, 29-30.

Arntz, Gerd. "zur methode des gesellschafts- und wirtschaftsmuseums in wien." *a-z*, 1 (1930), pp. 9, 34. *a-z – organ der gruppe progressiver künstler, Köln 1929-1933*. Facsimile with index and postscript by Hans Schmitt-Rost. Nendelen: Kraus Reprint, 1979.

Publications about Arntz:

Broos, Kees. "August Sander. Een vraaggesprek met Gerd Arntz." *Museumjournaal*, XVIII (1973) 5, 207-9.

Schmitt-Rost, Hans. "Zwölf Häuser der Zeit." In: *Gerd Arntz – Zwölf Häuser der Zeit – zwölf signierte Holzschnitte*. Berlin: Edition Werner Kunze, 1973.

Gerd Arntz. Frühe Grafik. Exh. Cat. Köln: Galerie Glöckner, 2000.

Arntz's earliest thematic series, created in 1927, is entitled *Twelve Houses of the Time* (fig. 2.6).³⁴⁷ The series consists of stylized woodcut images of twelve building types, among them a residential building, a factory, a prison, a bank and a bordello. The project shows a range of social classes within a rectangular frame representing each building. In each image, the building is represented simply by the rectangular format of the image and is populated with abstract figures "housed" in that building type while performing stereotypical actions: a worker labors at a conveyor belt; soldiers stand in file at military barracks. A differentiation of figures according to class is most clearly developed in the *Residential Building*, where the largest of three panels in the middle of the image, corresponding to the so called *belle étage* in nineteenth-century city buildings, is occupied by a wealthy man in business attire, an attractive naked female figure – presumably his wife or concubine – in a separate bathroom, and an aproned female servant holding a tray of cocktails in front of a modernist painting. The attic of the same building shows a sitting female figure (presumably a single mother or a laborer's wife) with three children in a cramped space crowded with one bed, a stove, and a sink. The bottom floor of the building appears to be occupied by a middle-class family, judging from the couple sitting on the sofa, one child figure, and possibly a subletter or visitor.³⁴⁸ Arntz had started working on "Bildstatistik" with the Austrian socio-economist Otto Neurath (1882-1945), the founder and head of the Viennese Museum of Society and Economics (Museum Wiener Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ Interestingly, Arntz chose the traditional medium of the woodcut for his modernist images in the New Objectivity style.

George Baker makes a connection between August Sander and Gerd Arntz suggesting that each was interested in establishing types as a progressive model. While the use of the typified individual might have had a progressive slant for painters such as Hoerle, who propagated a new, internationalist man, Arntz's representations show a more negative and sarcastic attitude towards the urban dwellers' existence.

Baker, George. "Photography Between Narrativity and Stasis: August Sander, Degeneration, and the Decay of the Portrait." *October* 76 (Spring 1996), pp. 87-88.

³⁴⁸ Interest in the definition of "types" was common in the 1920s.

Cf. Hermand, Jost/Trommler, Frank. *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik*. Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978, pp. 396-401.

³⁴⁹ Neurath, Otto. "Aufgaben des Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseums in Wien." *Aufbau*, no. 8/9 (1926), pp. 169-70.

Neurath, Otto. "Bildliche Darstellung sozialer Tatbestände." *Aufbau*, no. 8/9 (1926), pp. 170-4.

Neurath, Otto. "Statistik und Proletariat." *Kulturwille* V, (1927), pp. 9, 186.

Neurath, Otto. "Das Sachbild." *Die Form. Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit*, (1930), pp. 2, 29-35.

Neurath, Marie and Cohen, Robert S. *Otto Neurath – Empiricism and Sociology*. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1973.

Galison, Peter. "Aufbau/Bauhaus: Logical Positivism and Architectural Modernism." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Summer 1990), pp. 709-752.

Masks and House Portraits

For cultural critics, the harshness of the outward appearance of the modern city and the modern house was made even worse by the deceitfulness of nineteenth-century architecture. Werner Lindner (1883-1964), an architect who published the first comprehensive overview of industrial architecture in collaboration with the Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz, the Werkbund, the Verein deutscher Ingenieure and the Gesellschaft für Bauingenieurwesen in 1923, did not hide his hostility:

Nach den breiten Geschäftsstraßen hin zeigt die Großstadt ihre *prachtvoll übertünchte Maske*. Dahinter steckt ein Durcheinander von engen und lichtlosen Hinterhöfen, Wohnviertel sind vermengt mit Kleinbetrieben, zufällig und ungeordnet geplant: Giebelwände mit übergroßer, oftmals ungepflegter Reklame, schmutzige Fabrikmauern, ölige Garagenhöfe mit Benzinausdünstungen und fensterlose Brandmauern stehen hart gegeneinander. Wenn wir mit der Eisenbahn in irgendeine Großstadt einfahren, erblicken wir vom Fenster aus dieses ungeschminkte Bild.³⁵⁰

The notion of the “mask” had become a common allegation in the late nineteenth century, and Nietzsche was one of the many cultural pessimists who voiced disgust at late nineteenth-century Gründerzeit architecture’s feminine mendacity (as Anthony Vindler points out) in his 1878 essay collection *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*: “What is the beauty of a building to us today? The same thing as the beautiful face of a mindless woman: something masklike.”³⁵¹ Vidler also claims that Nietzsche’s criticism went beyond a mere Loosian hatred of the ornament in that it moved towards “a more modern idea of authenticity embodied in the *space* of the building itself.”³⁵² This “authenticity of space” was, however, the agenda of all conservatives captivated by circa-1800 architecture.

The problem or play regarding this “mask” was an important part of interwar aesthetics and artistic personae.³⁵³ It complicated the parameters of representation and provoked the

³⁵⁰ Emphasis mine.

Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (ed.). *Die Stadt. Ihre Pflege und Gestaltung*. Texts by Werner Lindner and Erich Böckler. Munich: Verlag D. W. Callwey, 1939, p. 18.

³⁵¹ Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Human, All Too Human: A Book for Free Spirits* (1878). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 101.

Vidler, Anthony. “The Mask and the Labyrinth: Nietzsche and the (Uncanny) Space of Decadence.” In: Kostka, Alexandre/Wohlfarth, Irving (eds.). *Nietzsche and “An Architecture of Our Minds.”* Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999, p. 54.

³⁵² Ibid., p. 55.

³⁵³ Fashion and the use of make-up were debated strongly, particularly with regards to the influence of the film industry. The „Dandy“ in particular was a contentious figure.

See:

Grundmann, Melanie (ed.). *Der Dandy. Wie er wurde, was er war*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2007.

discussion of how to represent the “true” character of architecture (or humans, for that matter). Thus art historian Richard Hamann rejected the documentary value of photography, noting instead its potential for deception:

Tatsächlich haben wir alle von den Personen unsere Umgebung ein Ideal nicht nur im Herzen, sondern auch im Auge. Wir sehen sie in Stimmungen, die der Photograph nicht hat, und unter dem Einfluß von Erfahrungen, Freundschaftsdiensten und Feindschaftsbezeugungen, die der Apparat erst recht nicht hat. Der Zeichner aber kann die Auffassung mitzeichnen, kann die Stimmung, in der wir den Menschen sahen und meinten, so sei er wirklich, auch im Bilde festhalten und das, was wir in das Gesicht hineintragen, auch in die Zeichnung hineinlegen. Er gibt die Persönlichkeit, nicht die Maske.³⁵⁴

In keeping with Helmut Lethen’s thesis, outside appearance, particularly clothing, facial expression, or façades, were indeed part of a careful construction, and New Objectivity reflected the aesthetics of these behaviours in an avant-garde manner that was met with little understanding for such frivolity.³⁵⁵ By 1937, the former head of the *Gesellschaft Deutscher Lichtbilder*, photographer Franz Grainer, used the term “mask” to describe the vindication that down-to-earth (“*bodenständig*”) photography and its rejection of the modernist style had brought:

Wenn die Bewegungsfreiheit, die der Lichtbildner sich erobert hat, und die internationalen Einflüsse, denen er oft nur erlag, dazu geführt haben, daß Halbbildung auf dem Gebiete der Bildkunst Orgienfeierte, in Effekthaschereien und Akrobatenstückchen ein letztes Ziel gesehen wurde, dann handelt es sich um eine Pseudokunst, die mit wahren künstlerischen Gestalten nichts mehr gemein hat. Maske und Zerrbild sind das.³⁵⁶

But the mistrust of the “inauthentic” nineteenth-century façade and the desire for holistic architecture was shared by reactionaries and progressives alike. In his 1928 *Internationale neue Baukunst* publication, modernist architect Ludwig Hilberseimer (1885-1967) wrote:

Die Art des Gestaltungsvorgangs bestimmt den Charakter der neuen Baukunst. Sie ist nicht auf äußerliche Dekorativität gestellt, sondern Ausdruck der geistigen Durchdringung aller Elemente. Das ästhetische Element ist daher nicht mehr übergeordnet, Selbstzweck, wie bei der den Bauorganismus ignorierenden Fassadenarchitektur, sondern ist gleich allen andern Elementen eingeordnet in

Lehmann, Ulrich. *Tigersprung: Fashion in Modernity*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000.

Doherty, Brigid. „Fashionable Ladies, Dada Dandies.“ *Art Journal*, vol. 54, no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp 46-50.

³⁵⁴ Hamann (1911), pp. 30-33.

³⁵⁵ Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1994.

³⁵⁶ Grainer, Franz. In: Schöppe (1937), p. 16.

das Ganze. Erhält erst im Zusammenhang mit diesem Ganzen seinen Wert, seine Bedeutung.³⁵⁷

Modernist architects had reacted to eclectic architecture with a reduction of the architectural structure to its basic elements and an abdication from decoration.³⁵⁸ This aesthetic was highly suspicious to many conservatives, who characterized such affectation as decadent, cynical, or degenerate. They claimed that modern architecture was only another modish mask, like Gründerzeitarchitecture: “[Das] Bauland ist nicht viel anders geworden, ob es sich in die Maske der Gotik oder der deutschen Renaissance, des Biedermeier, des Jugendstils oder eine der heute–morgen vielleicht nicht mehr üblichen modischen Formen hüllt.”³⁵⁹ Paul Schultze-Naumburg referred to modernist architectural aesthetics as “*Schrulle*” and “*Zwangsvorstellung*.”³⁶⁰ Even worse than Gründerzeit-architecture’s deceitful mask was modernist architecture’s *facelessness*. It did not have endearing national facial features, or any features for that matter, that would show a “true character”; there was not even a face that could be “uncovered:” “[In der Kleinstadt machten] bodenständige Bauweisen... dem *gesichtslosen* Großstadthaus Platz.”³⁶¹

The Physiognomic Impulse

The “obsession with the face” (“Gesichtlichkeitsobsession”) was a main concern in German visual art and intellectual thought of the 1920s.³⁶² Artists of the late Weimar and early National Socialist periods were particularly fixated on images of physical, and particularly facial, disfiguration.³⁶³ This preoccupation was often interpreted as a reaction to the omnipresence of

³⁵⁷ Hilberseimer, Ludwig. *Internationale neue Baukunst. Bauhausbücher Band II*. Stuttgart: Hoffmann, 1928, p. 5.

³⁵⁸ To be sure, nineteenth century ornament never gained a great reputation among modernist architectural critics either. In his influential *Space, Time and Architecture* (first published 1941, and continuously revised and enlarged until 1969) Sigfried Giedion described the ornamentalization as “Harlequin dress of architecture.”

Giedion, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture. The Growth of a New Tradition*. Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press/Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 182.

³⁵⁹ Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), p. 19.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁶¹ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939), p. 18.

³⁶² Schmölders, Claudia and Gilman, Sander. „Vorwort.“ In: Schmölders/Gilman (2000), p. 8. Several drawings by Paul Klee from the late 1925, such as the ink drawing *Kleiner Beitrag zur Physiognomie*, have physiognomical themes.

Paul-Klee-Stiftung (ed.). *Paul Klee. Catalogue Raisonné. Vol. 4. 1923-1926*. Bern: Benteli, 2000, p. 372.

³⁶³ The most important current scholarly work on the role of physiognomy in the Weimar Republic has been done by Sander Gilman, Claudia Schmölders, and Wolfgang Brückle.

disfiguration visible at the time, either through maimed World War I veterans, the effects of urban culture, or the fencing scars of influential alumni of university fraternities. Interwar German modernist art, especially by artists such as George Grosz or Otto Dix, often relied on physiognomical features to characterize figures by class or by involvement in the war: privileged men could be identified by the *Schmiß*, a scar from a sword wound they would have received in the course of an initiation rite at the conservative or right-wing student corps. In these paintings, World War I veterans also were often marked by severe and sometimes exaggerated facial deformations, which signified not only physical but ethical decay.³⁶⁴ According to Sander Gilman, however, this ubiquity of human uglification was a “mirage,” and the fear of

Schmölders, Claudia. *Das Vorurteil im Leibe. Eine Einführung in die Physiognomik*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995.

Schmölders, Claudia (ed.). *Der exzentrische Blick. Gespräch über Physiognomik*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997.

Schmölders/Gilman (2000).

Schmölders, Claudia. *Hitler's Face. The Biography of an Image*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Brückle, Wolfgang. „Politisierung des Angesichts: Zur Semantik des fotografischen Portraits in der Weimarer Republik.“ *Fotogeschichte* 65 (1997), pp. 3-24.

Brückle, Wolfgang. „Wege zum Volksgesicht: Imagebildung für das Kollektiv im fotografischen Portrait des Nachexpressionismus.“ In: Köstler, Andreas/Seidl, Ernst (eds.). *Bildnis und Image: Das Portrait zwischen Intention und Rezeption*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1998.

Brückle, Wolfgang. “Kein Portrait mehr? Physiognomik in der Deutschen Bildnisphotographie um 1930.” In: Schmölders/Sander (2000).

Also:

Raum, Stefan. “‘Kunstwollen’, Physiognomie und Propaganda: tausendjährige Photographie.” In: Rüger, Maria (ed.). *Kunst und Kunstkritik der dreißiger Jahre*. Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1990, pp. 237-244.

Campe, Rüdiger/Schneider, Manfred (eds.). *Geschichten der Physiognomik: Text, Bild, Wissen*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1996.

Gray, Richard, T. *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought From Lavater to Auschwitz*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004.

Schwartz (2005), esp. pp. 137-242.

³⁶⁴ On the construction of wholesome counterimages see Chapter Three.

Portraits were, of course, also prevalent in connection with World War I: For years, the many dead were usually remembered by their prominently displayed enlistment portraits.

In 1939, former childrens' book author Max Jungnickel published a booklet titled *The Myth of the Soldier* which features 17 portrait drawings by “Professor Ernst Vollbehr” along with a very dramatic text describing the heroicness of German Soldiers as well as their features: “Das deutsche Antlitz von heute ist hart und asketisch, aber ein Sternenhimmel drückt sich in die Stirn, und das Rätsel der groß geöffneten Augen ist noch längst nicht gelöst. Unbegreiflich ist das deutsche Antlitz. Wenn es ein Lied singt, öffnet es sich und heraus kommen, dem Fremden entgegen, wundersame Gestalten, die die Welt bereichern und mit Träumen und Glück beschenken. Und dann wieder fahren Blitze aus diesem Antlitz und die Welt erschüttert, wird von neuen Gedanken bezwungen und von alten erlöst. Selbst dann noch, wenn die Striemen und die Schwertspuren auf dem Antlitz anfangen zu bluten, spricht der Mund seltsame Weisheiten und seherische Fieberworte, die immer wieder die Völker erregen und auffahren lassen.” Jungnickel, Max. *Der Mythos des Soldaten* (1938). Berlin: Deutscher Wille, 1939, p. 39.

degeneration most likely far surpassed actual physical evidence of widespread oddities in the physical appearance of Germans.³⁶⁵

Instead, the “face” had already been the site for the anxieties of cultural pessimists in the late nineteenth century. The physiognomical rhetoric and metaphors proved powerful and pervasive and were reflected in the visual arts, literature, and cultural criticism. What interested late nineteenth-century cultural conservatives was not the study of facial expression, which fascinated the eighteenth century, but the study of facial features as a quasi-systematic morphology. In 1918 Oswald Spengler wrote: “Die Morphologie des Organischen, der Geschichte und des Lebens, alles dessen, was Richtung und Schicksal in sich trägt, heißt Physiognomik.”³⁶⁶ The development of a physiognomic system, he continues, is one of the most important missions of the twentieth century. The huge interest in physiognomy was driven by the extreme desire to define a coherent German nation. Germany’s first national portrait gallery was opened in 1913 after the example of the British National Portrait Gallery, which had been founded in 1856.³⁶⁷ Several popular picture books featuring the portrait in German art were published during the 1920s. Among them were Karl Scheffler’s richly illustrated *Bildnisse aus drei Jahrhunderten der deutschen und niederländischen Malerei* and Richard Hamann’s *Deutsche Köpfe der Mittelalters. Auswahl nach Aufnahmen des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars*.³⁶⁸ In his introduction to the collection of photographs of medieval sculptures, Hamann writes: “‘Deutsche Köpfe des Mittelalters [heißt], daß diese Köpfe, von deutscher Kunst hervorgebracht, Eigentümlichstes deutscher Kunst offenbaren, und damit deutschen Wesens überhaupt.’”³⁶⁹ These art historical overviews were followed by books featuring “important” contemporary figures.³⁷⁰ The book *Menschen der Zeit. Hundert und ein Lichtbildnis wesentlicher Männer und Frauen*

³⁶⁵ Gilman, Sander. “Sexology, Psychoanalysis and Degeneration: From a Theory of Race to Theory.” In: Chamberlin, Edward/Gilman, Sander (eds.). *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, p. 89.

³⁶⁶ Spengler, Oswald. “Physiognomik und Systematik.” In: Spengler, Oswald. *Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*. Vienna/Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918, p. 135.

³⁶⁷ Schmölders, Claudia. *Hitlers Gesicht. Eine physiognomische Biographie*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2000, pp. 14-17.

³⁶⁸ Scheffler, Karl. *Bildnisse aus drei Jahrhunderten der deutschen und niederländischen Malerei*. Königstein: Langwiesche, 1925.

Hamann, Richard (ed.). *Deutsche Köpfe des Mittelalters. Auswahl nach Aufnahmen des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars*. Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1922.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., n. p.

Cf. Brückle, Wolfgang. „Wege zum Volksgesicht.“ In: Köstler/Seidl (1998), pp. 285-308.

³⁷⁰ Ulrich Keller explains the proliferation of such photobooks as a reaction to an “identity crisis” after WWI.

Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander, Gunther (ed.). *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts: Portraitphotographien 1892-1952*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1980, p. 19.

deutscher Gegenwart und jüngster Vergangenheit appeared in 1930 in the series *Blaue Bücher*.³⁷¹ It was originally supposed to be called “Das deutsche Gesicht,” but publisher Karl Robert Langewiesche insisted on including Jewish artist Max Liebermann and social reformer Alice Salomon (who had converted to Protestantism). The book includes a wide range of people from different professions and backgrounds, such as sociologist Max Weber, artists Renée Sintenis and Käthe Kollwitz, and politician Konrad Adenauer. Politically, the hundred images seem to show more moderate figures, even more leftist types rather than reactionaries, although Hans Günther (“Rassegünther”), Oswald Spengler, and reactionary publisher Eugen Diederich are also included. Noticably absent in this publication, considering its date, are any important National Socialists. The publisher in fact writes that he consciously excluded (in addition to his own friends) “die Bildnisse solcher, wenn auch noch so ‘berühmter’, Zeitgenossen, ...welche sie als destruktive und negative Figuren sahen.”³⁷² Thirty-one thousand copies sold, but none were printed after 1931. The photographs were taken by various different portrait photographers, a number by Nicola Perscheid, a well-known Berlin photographer.³⁷³

But for cultural conservatives, the figure of the “face” itself came to denote cultural – and eventually racial – supremacy, or else the inferior lack of the face beneath a freakish mask. Racial “science” was sometimes ridiculed, for instance by the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*, which on its title page of May 19, 1933 shows a photograph of an old man being measured by a Rassenkundler with the title “Vergessen Sie nicht, Ihre Nase messen zu lassen.”³⁷⁴ But along with the popularity of “race theory” through the work of Günther (see Chapter One) came a deluge of books attempting to define the “truly German face.”³⁷⁵ Initially, these books were art books, such as Hubert Schrade’s 1937 *Das deutsche Gesicht in Bildern aus acht Jahrhunderten deutscher*

³⁷¹ Langewiesche, Karl. *Menschen der Zeit. Hundert und ein Lichtbildnis wesentlicher Männer und Frauen deutscher Gegenwart und jüngster Vergangenheit*. Berlin: Langewiesche, 1930.

³⁷² Ibid., p. 5.

³⁷³ Klempert (2002), pp. 134-5.

Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980), p. 19.

³⁷⁴ *AIZ*, vol. 12, no. 19 (May 19, 1933).

³⁷⁵ Of course, the German face was also defined negatively through publication of images of the Jewish other, a topic too large and complex to cover fully in this context.

Among the most successful illustrated publications was Ludwig Ferdinand Clauß’ 1937 *Semiten in der Wüste unter sich*, which featured photographs of bearded, dark-skinned desert inhabitants.

The 1937 traveling exhibition *Der ewige Jude* also featured various media representations of “Jews,” who it aimed to “demask.”

Hanno Loewy highlighted the importance of the representation of images of “Jews.”

Loewy, Hanno. “‘... ohne Masken’ Juden im Visier der ‘Deutschen Fotografie’ 1933-1945. In: *Deutsche Fotografie. Macht eines Mediums 1870-1970*. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1997, pp. 135-149.

Kunst.³⁷⁶ Schrade's booklet appeared in the series "Kleine Bücherei" published by Albert Langen and Georg Müller, and like all other "Kleine Bücherei," booklets cost eighty German Pfennige.³⁷⁷ Schrade (1900-1967) was a successful art historian under the Nazis, first a lecturer and then a professor of art history at the University of Heidelberg from 1929 through 1940, when he was named director of the art historical institute in Straßburg.³⁷⁸ Schrade's book has a sophisticated air about it: 48 photographs show faces of figures that are "masterworks" of sculpture, paintings, prints and drawings, ranging from 1170 (*Evangelist vom Lesepult aus Alpirsbach*) to 1855 (Ferdinand von Ranski's painting *Hans Haubold Graf von Einsiedel*). In his introductory text, Schrade references ancient Greek and Roman art, suggesting a linear development from antiquity to the German Middle Ages, with which he begins his descriptive part of the illustrations. Schrade often describes facial features and gestures of the quintessentially German medieval sculptures as "aristocratic."³⁷⁹ In his text he writes:

Hat doch das Wort Gesicht im Deutschen eine doppelte Bedeutung. Es kann das Antlitz, es kann aber auch die Vision, das 'zweite Gesicht' meinen. Nur ein Antlitz, das gesichtig ist, das in irgendeiner Weise Kraft zum Gesicht zeigt, ist wirklich Gesicht. Die Kraft zum Gesicht hat aber nicht nur der Visionär. Alles, was in der Welt ist, muß mit ihr gesehen werden, wenn es wirklich gesehen werden will.... Denn was einer sieht, das prägt ihn auch, so er es nur in seiner Tatsächlichkeit gesehen hat.... Die Werke, die hier in Abbildungen vereinigt sind, sollen eine Anschauung davon vermitteln, wie sich die Kraft der Deutschen zum Gesicht in ihrer Kunst bekundet hat.³⁸⁰

Schrade ends with the myth of the faceless nineteenth century and its supposed overcoming through Nazi power:

Von welcher Art aber Schönheit sein muss, wenn sie deutsch ist, haben die Gesichter der Vergangenheit gezeigt. Schönheit, die ohne Kraft zum Gesicht ist, bleibt Leere. Wenn das 19. Jahrhundert daran krankte, daß es allzuoft Antlitze schuf, die nichts anderes als äußere Abbilder waren, in denen das Menschliche schwieg, ...so hat uns der Wandel der Zeiten wieder eine Ahnung von der menschengestaltenden Macht des Typischen gegeben.³⁸¹

³⁷⁶ Schrade, Hubert. *Das deutsche Gesicht in Bildern aus acht Jahrhunderten*. Munich: Albert Langen und Georg Müller, 1937.

³⁷⁷ The first collection in the series was titled "Dichtung der Gegenwart" and comprised 82 different volumes with poetry by conservative contemporary German poets such as Selma Lagerlöf and Heinrich Zille. The following series, "Herkunft und Gestalt," began with Schrade's "Die heldische Gestalt in der deutschen Kunst." (1937)

³⁷⁸ Schrade was one of the many National Socialist professors who continued his career after WWII. From 1954-65, he was the director of the art historical institute in Tübingen.

³⁷⁹ Schrade, pp. 6, 10, etc.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁸¹ Ibid., n.p.

Two other immensely popular books on the subjects of physiognomy and art were published in 1937, both by J. F. Lehmanns, Günther's publisher (and the publisher of Schultze-Naumburg's *Kunst und Rasse*). These books were Karl Richard Ganzer's *Das deutsche Führergesicht* and Fritz Lange's *Die Sprache des menschlichen Antlitzes. Eine wissenschaftliche Physiognomik und ihre praktische Verwertung im Leben und in der Kunst*.³⁸² Lehmanns published Ganzer's *Das deutsche Führergesicht* along with the less extensive and less popular *Das deutsche Frauenantlitz. 104 Bildnisse aus allen Jahrhunderten deutschen Lebens* by Ganzer's wife, Lydia Ganzer-Gottschewski.³⁸³ Ganzer (1909-1943) was a right-wing music historian who was fairly successful under the Nazis. He even became the provisional head of the *Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands* in Berlin in 1942, shortly before his death in 1943. The institute had been founded by the *Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* and had a mission to reconstruct German history: to "research and illustrate the newer German history, especially the period between the French Revolution and the National Socialist Revolution (1789-1933)."³⁸⁴ Ganzer, who had also written on the destructive effects of Catholicism on the German sense of nation, was a supporter of National Socialism as a secular state in the tradition of Enlightenment. In his *Das deutsche Führergesicht* Ganzer shows images of works of art (sculptures, coins, drawings, prints, and paintings) portraying German secular "leaders" such as Karl the Great, Albrecht Dürer, and Friedrich Schinkel, and ending with an image of a Hitler bust by Arnold Breker. Ganzer writes: "Geschichte ist Führergeschichte. Wer die führenden Köpfe unseres Volkes mit wachen Augen betrachtet, sieht in ihnen die Geschichte der Nation gespiegelt, die deutschen Gestaltungen, und die deutsche Träume, die deutschen Möglichkeiten und die deutschen Aufgaben."³⁸⁵

Physician Fritz Lange (1864-1952) also cited facelessness as a problem for the engaged intellectual:

Die Menschen des Alltags, an denen sie meistens gezwungen sind, ihre Studien zu machen, sind nicht so ausgeprägte Persönlichkeiten. In ihren Gesichtern sind nicht so ausgeprägte Züge heiterer und ernster Art eingegraben und sehr oft steht ...gar nichts in dem Gesicht. Aus einem leeren Gesicht kann auch der beste

³⁸² Lange, Fritz. *Die Sprache des menschlichen Antlitzes. Eine wissenschaftliche Physiognomik und ihre praktische Verwertung im Leben und in der Kunst*. Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1937.

Ganzer, Karl Richard. *Das deutsche Führergesicht. 204 Bildnisse deutscher Kämpfer und Wegsucher aus zwei Jahrtausenden*. Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1937.

³⁸³ Ganzer-Gottschewski, Lydia. *Das deutsche Frauenantlitz. 104 Bildnisse aus allen Jahrhunderten deutschen Lebens*. Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1937.

³⁸⁴ Schriften des Reichsinstituts für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands, 1937ff. (RD 41/2-17) Findbuch Bundesarchiv Berlin.

³⁸⁵ Ganzer (1937), p. 3.

Physiognomiker nichts herauslesen.³⁸⁶

Lange claimed to provide a “scientific” study of physiognomy in his *Die Sprache des menschlichen Antlitzes* by providing anatomical images, contemporary photographs, and artistic images from the Renaissance through the nineteenth century. A detailed, “scientific” text describes specific facial parts and mimic expression, and “acknowledges the importance of genetic material.”³⁸⁷ The scientific validity of Lange’s study was legitimized by his training as a doctor: Lange was an acclaimed orthopedic surgeon and former director of the Orthopedical Clinic in Munich.³⁸⁸ He had published widely on orthopedics, and after WWI, he had specialized in “*Krüppelfürsorge*.”³⁸⁹ An article in honor of his seventieth birthday in the *Klinische Wochenschrift* emphasizes his commitment: “Seine ganze Sorge und Liebe galt der Krüppelvorsorge.”³⁹⁰ It was only after his retirement that Lange could concentrate on his “true” passion, art and physiognomy, resulting in the abovementioned publication.³⁹¹ Many of Lange’s illustrations were taken from other publications such as Günther’s *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (most likely provided by Lehmanns). Several photographs are also from photo books by Erich Retzlaff, particularly *Die von der Scholle* (1913) and *Das Antlitz des Alters* (1930).³⁹² Two photos, including a close-up of a laughing Silesian farmerwoman with a headscarf documenting a “square-shaped buccinator” or “Nasenlippenfalte,” are by famous National Socialist photographer Erna Lendvai-Dircksen.³⁹³ Today the topic of physiognomy is considered precarious due to its

³⁸⁶ Lange (1937), pp. 221-2.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁸⁸ In fact, Lange himself talks about doctors at length in his book, claiming that good doctors who see their work as a “Gottesdienst” and consider themselves “artists” who had special “beautiful doctor eyes” and may be “god-like.”

Ibid., pp. 81-83.

³⁸⁹ It is frightening to think what this might mean in connection with National Socialist medical experiments on “degeneration.”

³⁹⁰ Hohmann, G. „Fritz Lange zum 70. Geburtstag.“ *Klinische Wochenschrift*, vol. 13, no. 24 (June 16, 1934), p. 895.

³⁹¹ Ibid., p. 895.

Also:

Fervers, Carl. *Der Ausdruck des Kranken*. Munich: J.F. Lehmanns, 1936.

Venzmer, Gerhard. *Dein Kopf – Dein Charakter*. Stuttgart: Kosmos, 1935.

³⁹² Retzlaff, Erich. *Die von der Scholle. Sechshundfünfzig photographische Bildnisse bodenständiger Menschen*. Göttingen: Verlag der Deuerlichischen Buchhandlung, 1913.

Retzlaff, Erich. *Das Antlitz des Alters*. Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag, 1930.

³⁹³ Fritz Lange did concede that physiognomy was not entirely reliable, especially for laymen: “Fehlerquellen gibt es also auch in der Physiognomik.”

Lange (1937), p. 221.

The book was apparently not considered radically nationalistic or racist, and was republished after 1945, in 1952.

image as a potentially discriminatory pseudoscience, a view shared by most art historians.³⁹⁴

Postmodern theorists Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari deny any special relevance of the face with regards to societal and ethical development. The face and the relevance of its expressions, they write, is nothing but the “production of specific power relations.”³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ In her study of Renaissance use of ancient physiognomic symbolism in art Katharina Andres provides a very basic but useful overview of the history of physiognomic theory.

Andres, Katharina. *Antike Physiognomie in Renaissanceportraits*. Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1999, p. 5, 27.

Like most German studies on physiognomy, Claudia Schmölders does acknowledge the image of the lack of scientific seriousness of physiognomy and the abuse of physiognomic “theory” through the Nazis. Still, she does insist on the validity of the interest in the “Lehre der Physiognomik.”

Schmölders (1995), p. 19.

The most comprehensive collection of essays on the historical study of physiognomy is:

Campe/Schneider (1996).

³⁹⁵ “The ‘primitives’ might have the most human, most beautiful, and most spiritual heads, but they have no faces and do not need them.”

Their evidence for their statement, the claim that “primitive” (i.e. pre-capitalist) societies lack facial communication, is made even worse by the voyeuristic eroticism ascribed to the “primitive” faces.

Deleuze, Gilles/Guattari, Félix. „Das Jahr Null – Gesichtlichkeit.“ In: Bohn, Volker (ed.). *Bildlichkeit. Internationale Beiträge zur Poetik*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1990, pp. 435, 438, 442, 444.

CHAPTER THREE: CARICATURE

FAÇADE – FACE – CHARACTER:

INVENTING VISUAL HISTORY IN THE 1930s

During the 1930s, utopian national fantasies were reified and visualized as faces, houses, and landscapes.³⁹⁶ Photography played an eminent, if not *the* eminent, role in establishing visual evidence of an invented national tradition, “*Volkstum*.”³⁹⁷ Portrait and architectural photography in particular were instrumental in the construction of an agglomeration of seductive images that suggested a unified German people. Interest in architectural photography had peaked in the early twentieth century but, by the late 1920s, was replaced by an intense proliferation of portraits. Illustrated portrait volumes included painted and sculptural portraits, death masks, and photographic portraits.³⁹⁸ Portrait photography (which had remained committed to the pictorial

³⁹⁶ Jost Hermand’s excellent study *Der alte Traum vom neuen Reich* unearthed the history of völkisch Germanic utopia and science fiction in nineteenth and early twentieth century German literature. Hermand, Jost. *Der alte Traum vom neuen Reich. Völkische Utopien und Nationalsozialismus*. Frankfurt/Main: Athanäum, 1988.

³⁹⁷ I am using the term in the sense of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, but with an emphasis on the representation of an invented visual catalogue denoting “tradition.” “‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.” Hobsbawm, Eric. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” In: Hobsbawm, Eric/Ranger, Terence (eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: University Press, 1993 (first edition 1983), p. 1.

³⁹⁸ Several exhibitions and publications focus on interwar portrait photography and provide a good overview:

Keller, Ulrich. “Die deutsche Portraittfotografie von 1918 bis 1933.” In: Molderings, Herbert/Keller, Ulrich/Ranke, Wilfried (eds.). *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Fotografie*. Giessen: anabas, 1977, pp. 37-66.

Philipp, Claudia. *Portraitphotographie in Deutschland 1850-1918*. Exh. Cat. Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1991.

Köstler/Seidl (1998).

Frecot, Janos/Faber, Monika (eds.). *Portraits of an Age. Photography in Germany and Austria 1900-1938*. Exh. Cat. New York/Vienna: Neue Galerie/Albertina: Hatje Cantz, 2000.

Das Zweite Gesicht – The Other Face. Exh. Cat. Munich: Deutsches Museum, 2002.

Eskildsen, Ute (ed.). *Der fotografierte Mensch in Bildern der Fotografischen Sammlung im Museum Folkwang*. Exh. Cat. Essen: Museum Folkwang, 2003.

Hake, Sabine. “Faces of Weimar.” In: Andrew, Dudley (ed.). *The Image in Dispute: Art and Cinema in the Age of Photography*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997, pp. 117-147.

Honneff, Klaus et al. *Lichtbildnisse. Das Porträt in der Fotografie*. Exh. Cat. Bonn and Cologne: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1982.

Maddow, Ben et al. *Faces. A Narrative History of the Portrait in Photography*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1977.

Molderings, Herbert. “Die Gesellschaft der Weimarer Republik im photographischen Porträt.” In: Metken, Günter (ed.). *Realismus. Zwischen Revolution und Reaktion 1919-1939*. Exh. Cat. Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1981.

aesthetic tradition) now used visual strategies hitherto common in architectural photography, such as the isolation of the subject, a modernist stylization, and eventually the commercialization of portrait photography in style and mass distribution techniques.³⁹⁹ Portrait photography had become invaluable in print media and in law enforcement, hence the most extensive archives of photographic portraits were held by publishers of news media and police departments.⁴⁰⁰ In the interwar period, books featuring individual photographic portraits had become commonplace in Germany. Unlike in the United States, however, social documentary photography was not a subject of general interest in Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Compared to the work of contemporary American photographers such as Jacob Riis or Lewis Hines in the United States, social documentary photographers were hardly known in Germany.⁴⁰¹ State and company authorities had commissioned photographs of the sordid conditions of inner city workers' housing in the late nineteenth century under certain circumstances, and amateur photographers such as Walter Ballhause documented urban poverty in the 1930s, but such reports were not generally distributed as picture books.⁴⁰²

Schmidt, Gunnar. *Das Gesicht. Eine Mediengeschichte*. Munich: Fink, 2003.

Clarke, Graham (ed.). *The Portrait in Photography. Critical Views*. London: Reaktion Books, 1992.

Brückle, Wolfgang. "Politisierung des Angesichts. Zur Semantik des fotografischen Porträts in der Weimarer Republik." *Fotogeschichte* 65 (1997), pp. 3-24

³⁹⁹ In 1937, Wilhelm Schöppe mentions the multitudes of coffee table books featuring photographic portraits.

Schöppe (1937), p. 3.

Among the prominent portrait photo books were:

Benkard, Ernst. *Das ewige Antlitz. Eine Sammlung von Totenmasken*. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1927.

Friedell, Egon. *Das letzte Gesicht. 68 Bilder*. Zurich/Leipzig: Orell Füssli, 1929. (The book is comprised of photos of death masks.)

Lerski, Helmar. *Köpfe des Alltags*. Berlin: Hermann Reckendorf Verlag, 1931.

Christiansen, Broder. *Das Gesicht unserer Zeit*. Buchenbach: Felsen Verlag, 1929. (Modernist photographs.)

⁴⁰⁰ Schmölders, Claudia (2006), p. 10.

Regener, Susanne. *Fotografische Erfassung: Zur Geschichte medialer Konstruktionen des Kriminellen*. Munich: Fink, 1999.

Hellmond, Martin. *Kopf an Kopf. Serielle Porträtfotografie*. Exh. Cat. Tübingen: Kunsthalle Tübingen and Kehrer Verlag, 2007, pp. 14-16.

⁴⁰¹ In the US:

Riis, Jacob. *How the Other Half Lives*. New York: Scribner's, 1890.

Also notable is the "Pittsburgh Survey" with photos by Lewis Hine et al. (photos made 1907, published in magazines such as *Colliers* in 1908 and 1909) as well as the FSA projects of the 1930s.

⁴⁰² One early example of social documentary is the photographic study commissioned by the "Wohnungsenquête der Ortskrankenkasse für den Gewerbebetrieb der Kaufleute, Handelsleute und Apotheker" that were made by Heinrich Lichte in 1901 and 1920. The photograph book shows the squalid living conditions of the urban poor, but was most likely not meant as a book for general retail.

Asmus, G. (ed.). *Hinterhof, Keller und Mansarde*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1982.

Ballhause, Walter. *Zwischen Weimar und Hitler: sozialdokumentarische Fotografie in Hannover um 1930*. Foreword by Fritz Rudolf Fries. Munich: Schirmer-Mosel, 1981.

The study of physiognomy had become very popular as a way to describe and classify individuals within the unstable system of German society, and physiognomical theory finally achieved cachet in racist “scientific theories.” But the concept of a physiognomic typology as evidence for individual characteristics was rejected by modernist artists.⁴⁰³ Still, regardless of their ideology, few could escape the pervasiveness of the portrait, as historian Monika Faber explains:

The then-popular and widespread theory of physiognomy maintained that distinctions could be made between people based on their physical appearance, but also strived to be a manual for the principles of structure and order within human society. A number of followers of this school of thought published portrait collections in the period between the world wars, often with opposing political motives.⁴⁰⁴

Whereas nineteenth-century philosophers and cultural critics, according to Norbert Elias, had been obsessed with the ideals of society, early twentieth-century sociologists were equally preoccupied with examining and analyzing the present state of society.⁴⁰⁵

From Mask to Caricature: August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit*

The visualization of the obsession with the portrait is most obvious in the work of the photographer August Sander, who was born in Herford (Siegerland) in 1876 and died in 1964 at Cologne.⁴⁰⁶ Sander is best known for his 1929 book *Antlitz der Zeit*, which contained sixty portraits of Germans based on their position in society according to Sander. The portraits were only part of the extensive publication Sander eventually wanted to publish under the title *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, which was meant to include 45 additional portfolios with twelve

⁴⁰³ Hake, Sabine. „Zur Wiederkehr des Physiognomischen in der modernen Photographie.“ In: Campe/Schneider (1996), p. 477.

⁴⁰⁴ Faber, Monika. “The Grand Finale and Off Into the Blue. Two Eras Reflected in Portrait Photography.” In: Frecot/Faber (2000), p. 118.

⁴⁰⁵ “Führten im 19. Jahrhundert spezifische Vorstellungen von dem was sein soll oder was man wünschte – spezifische ideologische Vorstellungen – zu dem Zentralinteresse an dem Werden, an der Entwicklung der Gesellschaft, so führen im 20. Jahrhundert andere Vorstellungen, von dem was sein soll oder was man wünscht – andere ideologische Vorstellungen – zu dem betonten Interesse der führenden Theoretiker der Soziologie an dem Dasein, an dem Zustand der Gesellschaft wie sie ist, und zu ihrer Vernachlässigung der probleme des Werdens von gesellschaftlichen Formationen, zu ihrem Desinteresse an den problemen langfristiger Prozesse, und an all den Erklärungschancen, die die Erforschung solcher Problem eröffnet.” Elias (1969), p. XXVII.

⁴⁰⁶ One of the most insightful texts on August Sander and his work remains Ulrich Keller's text for the “reconstruction” of *Antlitz der Zeit*, edited by August Sander's son Gunther.

Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980), pp. 9-74.

Szarkowski, John. „August Sander: The Portrait as Prototype.“ *Infinity* (June 1963), p. 23.

Jones, Andy. “Reading August Sander's Archive.” *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2000), pp. 1-21.

photographs each, though the remaining issues of the book and plates for further photos were confiscated in 1934 by the *Reichskammer für bildende Künste*.⁴⁰⁷ In the 1920s, photographers who published their work in book form were expected to have some ideas concerning societal values. In an advertisement for a subscription to the portfolios of *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Sander claimed that his photographs “showed things how they are.” The popularity of the topic led Sander to plan a traveling exhibition of his photographs in different cities.⁴⁰⁸

In his foreword to *Antlitz der Zeit*, Alfred Döblin described Sander’s collection of photographs as “a sociology of the last thirty years.”⁴⁰⁹ Döblin claimed that Sander accomplished the feat of categorizing and analyzing society *only* through “his eyes, his mind, his observation, his knowledge and... photographic ability,” and that Sander provided “material for the cultural, class and economic history of the last thirty years.”⁴¹⁰ Sander achieved this not by showing “national costumes,” but faces, whose *acquired*, not inherited, features allowed for recognition of the subjects’ class: “There are the rural types [whose work] is rough, hard and monotonous; this kind of work makes their faces hard, makes them weather-beaten.”⁴¹¹ Of course, a rural worker who spends most of his work time outside exposed to the sun and wind would probably be among the easier groups to identify, and Döblin refrained from describing the facial surface of the other groups, merely mentioning that the faces of the bourgeoisie were marked by “tensions of our time.” It is surprising that while he disapproved of New Objectivity aesthetics, Walter Benjamin not only found that Sander had a legitimate “physiognomic, political, and scientific interest,” but even was convinced of the usefulness of the book as a “practical atlas” with which one may

⁴⁰⁷ Susanne Lange and Gabriele Conrath-Scholl provide a detailed overview of the likely development of Sander’s idea for folios.

Lange, Susanne/Conrath-Scholl, Gabriele. “August Sander: Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts – Ein Konzept in seiner Entwicklung.” In: SK Stiftung Kultur (ed.). *August Sander. Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Studienband*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2001, pp. 12-43.

Also:

Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980).

Sander, August. *Menschen ohne Maske*. With a biographical text by Gunther Sander and a foreword by Golo Mann. Lucerne and Frankfurt/Main: Bucher, 1971.

Eskildsen, Ute. “Photography and the Neue Sachlichkeit Movement.” In: Mellor (1978), p. 105.

⁴⁰⁸ Letter to Prof. Erich Stenger from Juli 21, 1925. Cited in: Lange, Susanne/Conrath-Scholl, Gabriele. “August Sander: Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts – Ein Konzept in seiner Entwicklung.” In: SK Stiftung Kultur (ed.). *August Sander. Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Studienband*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2001, p. 14.

⁴⁰⁹ “Man hat vor sich eine Art Kulturgeschichte, besser Soziologie, der letzten dreißig Jahre. Wie man Soziologie schreibt, ohne zu schreiben, sondern indem man Bilder gibt, Bilder von Gesichtern und nicht etwa Trachten, das schafft der Blick dieses Fotografen, sein Geist, seine Beobachtung, sein Wissen und nicht zuletzt sein enormes photographisches Können.”

Döblin, Alfred. “Von Gesichtern, Bildern und ihrer Wahrheit.” In: Sander, August. *Antlitz der Zeit*. Munich: Transmare, 1929, pp. 13-14.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

“[have one’s] origins identified on sight [and] will be able to identify others in this manner.”⁴¹² Remarkable (and troubling) is Benjamin’s positivist belief in a static manual. Sander drew on general stereotypes in order for his images to be recognizable. But it would be false to assume that sociological interest (in comparison to, for instance, ethnological interest) inevitably signified a progressive political view. In fact, sociology had taken a turn towards conservatism by the early twentieth century, and even modern German sociology, which had evolved in the late nineteenth century from Marxism, was prone to conservative cultural despair.⁴¹³

In any case, Sander’s interest in “straight” portraiture exemplifies his interest in the status quo and his renunciation of idealism. Sander created a typology, always following the same method and composition with regards to his motifs: his portraits are almost all full-figure portraits, with the subject surrounded by attributes or other figures relating to their professional, familial, or social status. In addition, subjects apparently always had the opportunity to pose in the manner in which they would like to be represented.⁴¹⁴ Still, Sander did not present a unified picture of German society at all, but rather an image of disparate elements within society.⁴¹⁵ And while the planned title *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* reflects the matter-of-factness aesthetic and universalist rhetoric of New Objectivity (compare to Renger-Patzsch’s *Die Welt ist schön*), it hardly shows “humans of the twentieth century.” In fact, its scope was very limited: all of Sander’s photographs for *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* were made either in the Siegerland or in Cologne, and only on the insistence of his publisher Kurt Wolff did he even bother to visit Berlin and take a few pictures there.⁴¹⁶

Sander was born in the Sieg Valley area of Germany, where mining was the most important industry. Unlike many industrial centers, wealth was remarkably evenly distributed among the population despite the upheavals of the industrial revolution: Sieg Valley mines were often owned cooperatively, and families native to the region usually owned land, enabling them to also supplement their resources by farming.⁴¹⁷ Sander’s father had a good administrative position at the mines and some wealthy relatives, which enabled the son to pursue photography even as a teenager. After a short career as a miner, Sander became a professional photographer

⁴¹² Benjamin, Walter. „Eine kleine Geschichte der Photographie.“ In: Benjamin, Walter. *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970, p. 90.

⁴¹³ Mitzman (1987), p. xviii, xxiii.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Eskildsen, Ute. “Photography and the Neue Sachlichkeit Movement.” In: Mellor (1978), p. 106.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Jennings, Michael. “Agriculture, Industry, and the Birth of the Photo Essay in Late Weimar Republic.” *October* 93 (Summer 2000), p. 33.

⁴¹⁶ Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980), p. 71, footnote 69.

⁴¹⁷ Commentary by Gabriele Conrath-Scholl. Naef, Weston et al. “Portrait of a People: The Photographs of August Sander.” Discussion in: Naef, Weston. *August Sander: Photographs from the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2000, pp. 101-2.

and owned a successful portrait studio in Linz at the beginning of the century. He also worked as a commercial photographer of consumer products, industry, and architecture. Sander returned to Cologne in 1909, where he had to find new customers and photographing in the surrounding regions. The pictures of the rural citizens were results of “excursions” with his bicycle in his native Sieg Valley region, where he was well known. In the 1930s, Sander dreamed of buying himself a motorcycle to drive around the Siegerland “in order to enjoy nature better.”⁴¹⁸ In producing the pictures, Sander did not, at least initially, follow a stringent system. Ewald Klein, one of August Sander’s subjects, describes the experience of being photographed by Sander as entirely unpremeditated:

Es war an einem Samstagnachmittag [in July 1914, according to Gabriele Conrath-Scholl], als wir drei von Dünebusch nach Hallscheid gingen. Wir wollten da zum Tanz. Da ist uns der August Sander begegnet. Den kannten wir damals alle, der hatte naemlich überall in der Gegend fotografiert. Und der kam auch immer in die Wirtschaft zu meinem Vetter in Dünebusch. Na, jedenfalls, als er uns kommen sah, da hat er gesagt, er wollte uns mal fotografieren, und da haben wir uns so dahingestellt.⁴¹⁹

Until 1929, when *Antlitz der Zeit* was published, Sander arranged the pictures after he had made them. Most of his captions denote the sitter’s occupation, and photos are grouped by occupation and status. Sander himself didn’t interpret the material. Few written statements exist, and Sander did not actively participate in cultural criticism. He also does not appear to stage a visual argument by portraying living conditions. Only costume, posture, and Sander’s captions provide obvious markers of the subject’s position in society: a “Gymnasiast” (1926), for instance, wears a three-piece suit and poses in a slightly effeminate posture, with a cigarette loosely held in one hand. Ulrich Keller notes that Sander’s *Stammappe* is organized similarly to medieval guilds.⁴²⁰ However, this is not necessarily conservatism or a desire for “social stability,” as Andy Jones writes, but a conscious participation in the Weimar Germany artistic trend to use nostalgic elements either ironically or as a condiment to modern aesthetics.⁴²¹

But because of this categorization by profession, the photo titled simply “Unemployed Man” not only shows a man with a desolate, absent gaze and gesture, but marks him as

⁴¹⁸ Hartz, John von. *August Sander* (1977). Cologne: Könemann, 1997.

Hake, Sabine. „Zur Wiederkehr des Physiognomischen in der modernen Photographie.“ In: Campe/Schneider (1996), p. 491.

Letter cited in: Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980), p. 22.

⁴¹⁹ Mast, Ulrike. “Ewald du hängst in Köln am Hauptbahnhof! ‘Modell’ des August sechzig Jahre später.” *Rheinzeitung – Westerwald/Sieg*, no. 232 (October 13, 1976). Cited in: Conrath-Scholl, Gabriele. “August Sander. Chronist seiner Zeit.” In: Mensch/Pachnike, p. 194.

⁴²⁰ Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980), p. 11.

⁴²¹ Jones, Andy. “Reading August Sander’s Archive.” *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2000), pp. 1-21.

uncategorizable.⁴²² Allan Sekula criticized these “strategies of social channeling” in Sander’s work for their parallels with such strategies in authoritarian systems.⁴²³ John Berger criticized the “costuming” of Sander’s peasant subjects in suits as a submission to a bourgeois “cultural hegemony.”⁴²⁴ The discord between the outfit and the demeanor of the peasants usually are so obvious that it hardly seems plausible that either Sander or the farmers wanted to masquerade as full-time bourgeois. And George Baker disapproved of Sander’s use of the word “*Stamm*” (“tribal” rhetoric was widely used by Nazis) and his hierarchical organization of “types” culminating in a supposedly manifest degeneration.⁴²⁵ Art historian Heinrich Lützeler drew attention to two important aspects of Sander’s work: caricature and asceticism. Lützeler believes that the element of caricature was the reason Sander’s photographs were deemed dangerous by the National Socialists: “Dagegen hatten viele Fotos einen leicht karikaturistischen Zug und kehrten das heraus, was den Deutschen im Urteil anderer Völker nicht gerade sympatisch oder sogar lächerlich machte. Er erschien als tête carrée mit nackenlosem Speckhals, als praeceptor mundi [a young teacher], der alles ganz genau weiß und zur Völkerbelehrung immer bereit ist...” (fig. 3.1)⁴²⁶ Sander’s undated photograph of three *Revolutionaries*, meekly huddled together on a stoop with bookish glasses in the bottom half of the photograph belies its title (fig. 3.2). Similarly, the *Youth Movement* ridiculed by the representation through a tense, overdressed middle-aged man staring remotely into space (fig. 3.3).

Sander also purposely did not use the technological possibilities photography would have offered in order to circumvent visual indulgence: no costume or dramatic lighting encourages emotional access to the subjects.⁴²⁷ Possibly in reaction to the right wing’s attacks on modernist artists’ sanity, he called himself “a healthy person”: “Wenn ich nun als gesunder Mensch so unbescheiden bin, die Dinge so zu sehen, wie sie sind und nicht wie sie sein sollen oder können,

⁴²² Clarke, Graham. “Public Faces, Private Lives: August Sander and the Social Typology of the Portrait Photograph.” In: Clarke, Graham (ed.). *The Portrait in Photography*. London: Reaktion Books, 1992, p. 80. [entire article: 71-93]

⁴²³ Sekula, Allan. “The Traffic in Photography.” In: Sekula, Allan. *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works 1973-1983*. Halifax: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984, p. 86.

⁴²⁴ Berger, John. “The Suit and the Photograph.” In: Berger, John (ed.). *About Looking*. London: Writers and Readers, 1980, p. 35.

⁴²⁵ Baker, George. “Photography Between Narrativity and Stasis: August Sander, Degeneration, and the Decay of the Portrait.” *October 76* (Spring 1996), pp. 84, 93.

⁴²⁶ Lützeler, Heinrich. „Einleitung.“ In: Sander, August. *Deutschenspiegel. Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Introduction by Heinrich Lützeler. Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1962, p. 11.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

Rosalind Krauss has identified potentially surreal elements of Nazi photography. In light of their purpose, however, their aesthetic aspects and similarities are irrelevant in this connection.

Krauss, Rosalind and Livingston, Jane. *L’amour fou – Photography and Surrealism*. Washington, D.C. and New York: Corcoran Gallery of Art/Abbeville Press, 1985.

so möge man mir dies verzeihen, aber ich kann nicht anders.”⁴²⁸ But behind the prevalent and accepted rhetoric of objectivity, Sander’s photographs suggest that he was not convinced of the rigidity of his own categories, but that he instead wanted to parody their lasting importance and contentiousness in contemporary German political discourse. Indeed society’s severe and rapid, transformations particularly of “the last thirty years” (Döblin) would have called for a panacea that reflected not only the impossibility of representing “the time,” but soothed its painful absence of stability.

Like Albert Renger-Patzsch, Sander remained in Germany during the Third Reich, mainly producing commercial work. Sander was associated with the leftist artist group the Cologne Progressives, and one of the main protagonists of the group, Franz Seiwert, was a good friend of his. He was politically somewhat active, trying to help those persecuted by the government, since his son, who died in prison in 1944, was in the Resistance movement. According to Ute Eskildsen, the reception of Sander was for a long time formed by the re-edition of excerpts from *Antlitz der Zeit* in 1971 by Sander’s other son Gunther.⁴²⁹ The 1971 book only shows a selection of Sander’s work, excluding the photographs of the physically and mentally ill that Sander had subsumed under the title “Misfits.” When social documentary photography became popular in the 1970s, interest in Sander’s work increased as well. Those familiar with his work were bothered by the reduction of it to its motifs without an analysis of the context. In 1977, Volker Kahmen criticized the decision to include an apparently random selection of reprints of Sander’s photos at the German contemporary art fair *documenta*.⁴³⁰ When Sander’s portrait work gained popularity in the 1970s, its “sociological” (and hence politically progressive) dimension was emphasized by scholars, acquaintances, and family, including his son Gunther and his grandson Gerd.

While August Sander is best known for his portraits, he also took many photographs of cities and landscapes, such as the city of Cologne, particularly between the years 1925 and 1938.⁴³¹ Photo historian Rolf Sachsse was the first to point out the possibility that Sander might

⁴²⁸ Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980).

⁴²⁹ Kramer, Robert. *August Sander: Photographs of an Epoch 1904-1959*. New York: Aperture, 1980. In his unnecessary attempt to rehabilitate Renger-Patzsch, Donald Kuspit slams August Sander’s supposed position as a “hero of the left” and claims that Sander’s photograph of a street represented an “adulatory of Nazi achievements.” (The autobahn was in fact not even a “Nazi achievement.”) Kuspit (1993), p. 74.

⁴³⁰ Kahmen, Volker. “August Sander – Mensch und Landschaft.” In: *August Sander – Mensch und Landschaft*. Exh. Cat. Bahnhof Rolandseck. Aachen: Gebr. Achilles, 1977, p. 7.

⁴³¹ The c. 400 pictures weren’t published in book form until the 1980s. A selection of the photographs Sander took of Cologne is presented in a catalogue that includes a biographical text by his son Gunther.

have also followed the trend to create a visual map of a “Kulturlandschaft,” a notion that seems potentially reactionary. Sachsse, who had studied other examples of landscape and travel photography, did not find that Sander’s photographs differed much from other Kulturlandschaft booklets.⁴³² Indeed, the main difference between Sander’s series and those books claiming to represent specific regional or national “culture” was that Sander kept his portrait photographs and his landscape and architecture photography separate. In addition, Sander’s photographs of monuments, city spaces, and panoramic views of Cologne in his collection *Köln wie es war* are stylistically not uniform, resembling a large number of experimental snapshots taken from various angles, in different lighting conditions, without any obvious intentional composition.⁴³³ An unfocused photograph entitled *Dombaugerüst* (not dated) simply shows scaffolding on the façade of the Cologne cathedral (fig. 3.4). It seems that he took a photo in order to document something, possibly the structure’s size, just as Sander later took a photo of the cathedral at night with an illuminated Christmas tree in front of it.⁴³⁴ Several photos of city streets are taken from high vantage points; Sander must have climbed the towers of St. Gereon or other churches in order to produce the touristic photos. To his photographs of landscapes and architecture Sander ascribed the propensity to express the “contemporary image of a nation.”

The Simulacra of Tradition: Portrait and Weltanschauung

Before the advent of modernism and its avant-garde artists, Wilhelmine cultural conservatives like Schultze-Naumburg aimed to idealize and popularize “high,” classical culture (Goethe, Old Master paintings, and the like).⁴³⁵ It was only when this high culture was “contaminated” by the coquettish and ambitious bourgeoisie that conservatives decried culture’s

Stadt Köln (ed.). *Die Stadt Köln präsentiert: August Sander. Kölner Jahre bis 1938*. Cologne: Greven und Bechtold, n.d.

Misselbeck, Reinhold (ed.). *August Sander. Köln-Portrait*. Cologne: Druck- & Verlagshaus Wienand, 1984.

Ranke, Wilfried. *August Sander. Die Zerstörung Kölns. Photographien 1945-46*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1985.

Schäfer, Werner (ed.). *August Sander. Köln wie es war*. Cologne: Druck- & Verlagshaus Wienand, 1988. Sander’s landscape photographs:

Sander, August. *Rheinlandschaften. Photographien 1929-1946*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1975.

⁴³¹ Sander, August. „Chronik über die Zerstörung Kölns.“ In: Ranke (1985).

⁴³² Sachsse, Rolf. “August Sanders Mappenwerk vom alten Köln.” In: Schäfer (1988), pp. 12, 28.

Sachsse, Rolf. “Heimat als Reiseland.” In: Pohl, Klaus (ed.). *Ansichten der Ferne. Reisephotographie 1850-heute*. Giessen: anabas, 1983, pp. 129-50.

⁴³³ Schäfer (1988).

⁴³⁴ Ibid., p. 37, cat. 1,3.

⁴³⁵ Saldern, Adelheid von. “‘Kunst für’s Volk.’ Vom Kulturkonservatismus zur nationalsozialistischen Kulturpolitik. In: MarBolek/Wildt (1999), p. 172.

elitism and became interested in folklore. In fact, it had been the early twentieth century's politically progressive artists who had first been interested in folklore and traditional artistic processes such as woodcutting.⁴³⁶ In the Weimar republic, the big question for cultural pedagogues ("Kulturpädagogen") was: how could the general public be better educated in order to access "high culture"? By the 1930s, conservative cultural producers had decided to incorporate more popular culture and folklore into the concept of culture, thus making culture as a whole less elitist. The classification of folklore as *culture* also suggested the sense of empowerment to rural communities and lower-educated citizens, since "Kultur" had been associated with an urban, educated milieu until the late nineteenth century. In addition, the discipline of sociology, by nature often pursued by those who would classify society in order to criticize its static nature, was replaced by an ideology aimed at *strengthening* order. Even acclaimed sociologists like Arnold Gehlen praised the fact that National Socialism propagated a consistent "*Weltanschauung*," a world view which denoted that what was most effective in the stabilization of society was a coherent and reliable *appearance* of the world:

Es ist in Deutschland durch Tatbeweis gesichert, daß ein immanentes Zuchtbild imstande ist, tragende Grundsätze des Handelns aufzustellen und durchzuführen, eine feste Organisation des Wachstums und der Leistungen des Volkes aufzustellen sowie notwendige, gemeinsame Aufgaben anzuweisen und zu realisieren. Die Gebiet ist also das der Weltanschauung, in dem Sinne, den der Nationalsozialismus dem Wort gegeben hat, und den Rosenberg in dem Begriff der Durchsetzung germanischer Charakterwerte zusammengefaßt hat.⁴³⁷

One of the most important methods in establishing this Weltanschauung was to provide photographic evidence of "Germanic traits" – in individual portraits, but also in architectural and landscapes photographs – that would prove the traits' pervasiveness and inevitability as an all-encompassing existence. Among the earliest popular photo books showing stylized "völkisch" images of individuals are those by Erich Retzlaff such as *Antlitz des Alters: Photographische Bildnisse* (1930).⁴³⁸ Retzlaff's collection of portrait photographs in *Menschen am Werk* *Sechshundfünfzig photographische Bildnisse aus deutschen Industriestädten* has a foreword by

⁴³⁶ Adelheid von Saldern mentions the later Widerstandskämpfer Kurt Huber, who had studied "Volksliedgut."

Saldern, Adelheid von. "'Kunst für's Volk.' Vom Kulturkonservativismus zur nationalsozialistischen Kulturpolitik. In: MarBolek/Wildt (1999), p. 174.

⁴³⁷ Gehlen, Arnold. *Der Mensch*. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1940, p. 402.

⁴³⁸ Brückle, Wolfgang. „Wege zum Volksgesicht: Imagebildung für das Kollektiv im fotografischen Portrait des Nachexpressionismus.“ In: Köstler/Seidl (1998).

Heinrich Lersch in which he dramatically heroicizes the subjects' anonymity: "Es sind die namenlosen Leute."⁴³⁹

The establishment of physiognomic theory as a "science" eventually separated it from artistic production, which in turn independently developed an extremely dramatic and powerful visual language evident in an ever more increasing production of photo books without theoretical texts. Reactionary cultural critics had frowned upon the triumph of the aesthetization of "Eigenschaftslosigkeit" during the Weimar Republic, which they detected in modernist forms. Much worse than this "cold" aesthetic, which they "exposed" as ugly, was its underlying "character," which disgusted them. It appeared cynical, decadent, blasé, and worst of all, it lacked passion for an ideal – the driving force of chauvinistic nationalism. Passion, in the most vulgar sense, was something the photographs of Erna Lendvai-Dircksen exuded. Erna Lendvai Dircksen (1883-1962) began photographic portrait studies around 1910. Her photos were first published after 1914 in anthologies such as the "Deutscher Camera-Almanach," but she went on to publish twenty books between 1932 and 1961.⁴⁴⁰ During the Third Reich, Lendvai-Dircksen's very popular photographs were distributed by the Bildarchiv Stödtner, an agency that provided portrait photos for newspapers, publishers, and National Socialist training seminars.⁴⁴¹

Lendvai-Dircksen had rejected the old pictorial style in favor of modernist aesthetics.⁴⁴² Seriality was another visual strategy adapted from modernism; it was also one of the most important prerequisites for the production of coherent and memorable thematic photobooks. Photos had become the means of providing positive points of identification for Germans. Often the motifs chosen by Lendvai-Dircksen were highly perfected versions of idyllic scenes that had

⁴³⁹ Retzlaff, Erich. *Menschen am Werk. Sechshundfünfzig photographische Bildnisse aus deutschen Industriestädten*. Göttingen: Deuerliche Verlagbuchhandlung, n.d. (1931), pp. III-VII.

Lersch (1889-1936) was a "workers' poet," whose interest in nationalism fueled his support of the Nazis before his death in 1936. 120000 people attended his funeral.

⁴⁴⁰ Friedrich, Thomas. „Erna Lindvai-Dircksen [sic] (1883-1962): Selbständige Veröffentlichungen 1932-1961.“ In: Blask, Falk/Friedrich, Thomas (eds.). *Menschenbild und Volksgesicht. Positionen zur Porträtfotografie im Nationalsozialismus. Berliner Blätter. Ethnografische und ethnologische Beiträge*. 36/2005. Münster: LIT, 2005, pp, 49-52.

Also see:

Philip, Claudia Gabriele. "Erna Lendvai-Dircksen (1883-1962). Verschiedene Möglichkeiten eine Photographin zu interpretieren." *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 3, no. 7 (1983), pp. 39-56.

Philipp, Claudia Gabriele. „Erna Lendvai-Dircksen: Repräsentantin einer weiblichen Kunsttradition oder Propagandistin des Nationalsozialismus?“ In: Bischoff, Cordula (ed.). *Frauen Kunst Geschichte*. Gießen 1984.

Eskildsen, Ute. "Das Prinzip der Portaitdarstellungen bei Erna Lendvai-Dircksen, Paul Strand und Christopher Killip." *Camera Austria*, no. 4 (1981). Symposium über Fotografie II Graz 1981, pp. 7-16.

⁴⁴¹ Keller, Ulrich. „Sander und die Portraitphotographie.“ In: Sander (1980), p. 30.

⁴⁴² For a detailed reference on the topic see:

Sachse, Rolf. *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen. Fotografie im NS-Staat*. Dresden: Philo Fine Arts, 2003, pp. 48-92.

long dominated the photographic endeavors of amateur photographers and travel publications.⁴⁴³ Lendvai-Dirksen's first solo book, *Das Deutsche Volksgesicht*, was published in 1930.⁴⁴⁴ The book features 140 photographs, mainly of farmers or fishermen in their "natural" rural habitat. Its short texts emphasize supposed character traits such as "asceticism," "perseverance," "industriousness," and "honor" ("Kargheit," "Zähheit," "Fleiß," "Ehre") (fig. 3.5). The photos are often accompanied by a description of how Lendvai-Dirksen managed to gain the trust of the reserved rural population through her persistence and respectful manner. An old man is not simply described by his profession (farmer) but elevated to a noble "master farmer." But in her text, Lendvai-Dirksen also clearly points out "negative examples," such as a woman who supposedly has "Asian traits" and whose portrait bears the caption "Demonic Face" ("Dämonisches Gesicht", below).⁴⁴⁵ Lendvai-Dirksen also romantically describes the "simple" individual who has no agency as part of a human landscape of sorts:

Die sich ihrer selbst unbewußte Wesenheit des einfachen Menschen, der als Einzelleben vom Organismus einer Gemeinschaft umfaßt ist, spricht als ein allgemein Gültiges. Man könnte sagen: Der Einzelne schweigt von sich, – es redet das Ganze.⁴⁴⁶

The images of what Lendvai-Dirksen called the "monumental simple-mindedness of the peasant" replaced the images of neurotic city faces shown by Sander, soothing the Bildungsbürger.⁴⁴⁷ In Lendvai-Dirksen's view, the urban population is tragic: "Der Stadtmensch hat das tragische Gesicht unserer Zeit. Es ist nicht mehr und noch nicht."⁴⁴⁸ In fact, the face of the urban population is dischronic and only the rural population even has a face:

[Der bäuerliche Mensch] hat Physiognomie, weil er natürlich ist... Wie alles am Volk Physiognomie hat... sind auch die äußeren Lebensformen Ausdruck einer Seele, die Landschaftsseele, Genius des Stammes heissen könnte. Die Art wie Leben sich das Gehäuse schafft, wie es Platz, Ordnung, Gefüge am Haus

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 17.

⁴⁴⁴ Lendvai-Dirksen, Erna. *Das Deutsche Volksgesicht*. Berlin: Kulturelle Verlagsgesellschaft, 1930. Cf. Büch, Christina. "Das publizistische Schaffen Erna Lendvai-Dircksen im Spiegel ihrer Zeit." In: Blask/Friedrich, p. 153.

In her 1961 publication *Ein deutsches Menschenbild* Lendvai-Dirksen later claims to have been "ostracized" ("geächtet") between 1930 and 1937 because her photographs were not "Nordic" enough. She does not mention her work for the Nazis, for instance her photographs of Autobahn workers and her adoration for Fritz Todt.

Lendvai-Dirksen, Erna. *Ein deutsches Menschenbild*. Frankfurt/Main: Umschau Verlag, 1961.

Lendvai-Dirksen (1937).

⁴⁴⁵ Lendvai-Dirksen (1930), p. 97.

⁴⁴⁶ Lendvai-Dirksen (1961), p. 10.

⁴⁴⁷ Schmolders (2000), p. 18.

Cf. Philipp, Claudia Gabriele. "Erna Lendvai-Dirksen – Repräsentantin einer weiblichen Kunsttradition oder Propagandistin des Nationalsozialismus?" In: Bischoff (1984), pp. 167-183.

⁴⁴⁸ Lendvai-Dirksen (1930), p. 5.

und Hof braucht ist ein eindrucksvolles Zeugnis.⁴⁴⁹

Lendvai-Dircksen didn't comment on the contradiction between her own life as a young professional woman from Berlin, the biggest and most liberal German city, and her adoration of rural life and customs – particularly those pertaining to gender roles – reflected in her photos.⁴⁵⁰ Lendvai-Dircksen professed to penetrate the masks:

Ob Fotografie nun Kunst sei oder nicht, jedenfalls ist sie eine mächtige Mitteilungssprache geworden, aus der sich unmittelbar eine Anschauung ablesen läßt. *Anschauung ist alles...* Durch die Maske, die Eitelkeit, Verworrenheit, Entartung und Zufälligkeit eines Gesichtes hindurchzudringen bis zu seiner Wahrheit, zur erschütternden Wirklichkeit, das ist die große Aufgabe.⁴⁵¹

Still, many of her models (female and male) were obviously styled for the shooting with powder, eyeliner, and lipstick, and her rhetoric speaks of the uninhibited voyeurism her finished prints allow her once she has left the strange rural places: “Nicht groß und nah genug kann ich die Gesichter vor mir haben, um in ihrer Landschaft zu lesen....”⁴⁵²

While Lendvai-Dircksen's project may seem like unreflective embellishment of country life by a city person, as Heinrich Lützeler suggests, her rhetoric implies that her fantasy of harmonic rural life was consciously and openly constructed.⁴⁵³ This is supported by her descriptions of her hunts for suitable individuals. Hers is a utopian model waiting to be realized in a different time or political system, which she is heralding (or, after World War II, mourning).⁴⁵⁴ The image of the individual is only part of this model: “Und wesentlich ist und bleibt ohne jeden Zweifel: *die unvergängliche Schönheit des deutschen Gesichts im Bild zu bewahren* und durch das Bild zum Vorbild kommender Generationen werden zu lassen.”⁴⁵⁵ Lendvai-Dircksen's portraits show humanoid figures, idealized versions of contemporary Germans in whose image the “containment of forces” (specific to fascist aesthetics, according to Susan Sontag) is palpable. According to Sontag, “[Fascist aesthetics] flow from (and justify) a preoccupation with situations of control, submissive behavior, extravagant effect, and the endurance of pain; they endorse two

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 7-10.

⁴⁵⁰ As if to prove her roots in the Bildungsbürgertum, Lendvai-Dircksen also cites Goethe. Ibid., p. 12.

⁴⁵¹ Lendvai-Dircksen, Erna. In: Schöppe (1937), p. 29.

⁴⁵² Lendvai-Dircksen (1930), images 17, 91-127, 133. Schöppe (1937), p. 37.

⁴⁵³ Lützeler, Heinrich. „Einleitung.“ In: Sander, August. *Deutschenspiegel. Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Introduction by Heinrich Lützeler. Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1962, p. 11.

⁴⁵⁴ Lendvai-Dircksen (1961), p. 5.

⁴⁵⁵ Lendvai-Dircksen, Erna. In: Schöppe (1937).

seemingly opposite states, egomania and servitude.... Fascist art glorifies surrender, it exalts mindlessness, it glamorizes death.”⁴⁵⁶

Propaganda has been an important function of photography on all sides of the political spectrum since the 1920s.⁴⁵⁷ But National Socialism relied on photography to manifest its Weltanschauung.⁴⁵⁸ The use of press photography in any printed matter was controlled after October 1933 by the RMfVP (*Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*).⁴⁵⁹ But photos were also offensively distributed. Portraits of Hitler, “Führerbilder,” for instance, were strongly promoted.⁴⁶⁰ The departments for “Positive World View Propaganda” (“*Positive Weltanschauungspropaganda*”) and “Design in State Life” (“*Formgebung im staatlichen Leben*”) were responsible for ensuring that press photography was effectively utilized to form a coherent visual image of a strong and healthy German nation – and to show “dangers” to the nation.⁴⁶¹ To this end, many forms that had been established during the Weimar Republic, such as the photo reportage or photomontage, were used. Positive reports on Dachau concentration camp in German

⁴⁵⁶ Sontag, Susan. „Fascinating Fascism.“ In: Sontag, Susan. *Under the Sign of Saturn*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1980, pp. 73-105.

⁴⁵⁷ “Auf der Reichsagitations- und Propagandakonferenz der KPD, 1925, war beschlossen worden, alle Medien in den Dienst des Klassenkampfes zu nehmen.” Ballhause, Walter. *Überflüssige Menschen: Fotografien und Gedichte aus der Zeit der grossen Krise*. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1981, p. 270.

⁴⁵⁸ Sachsse (2003).

Domröse, Ulrich (ed.). *Leitbilder für Volk und Welt. Nationalsozialismus und Photographie*. Exh. Cat. Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1995.

Frowein, Cordula. “Das Bild des Menschen.” *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 67-73.

Hiepe, Richard. *Riese Proletariat und große Maschinerie. Zur Darstellung der Arbeiterklasse in der Fotografie von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Exh. Cat. Erlangen: Städtische Galerie Erlangen, 1983, pp. 120-5.

Kerbs, Diethart/Uka, Walter/Walz-Richter, Brigitte (eds.). *Die Gleichschaltung der Bilder. Zur Geschichte der Pressefotografie 1930-36*. Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983.

⁴⁵⁹ Written documents relating to images and image production are surprisingly rare. Apparently, the “direction” and aesthetics were understood easily. Several months of research at the Bundesarchiv in Berlin turned up only few documents outlining specific orders with regards to motifs and style. Much more common were letters and article by people trying to ingratiate themselves with the Nazis describing their fight against, for instance, “degenerated” art or kitsch. Particular guidelines for positive images or specific criticism of negative images are conspicuously absent from the archives, suggesting that Germans in general had a good sense of distinguishing which visual material was stylistically acceptable and what was not.

Photo historian Rolf Sachsse, who has spent years working on the subject of photography and National Socialism, supports this assessment.

Sachsse (2003), p. 11.

⁴⁶⁰ Otto Thomae cites a notice from Goebbels’ Ministerkonferenz on March 14, 1941, which suggests allowing images of Hitler to be sold at fairs alongside “kitschy” reproductions of images of saints in order to entice peasants to buy “Führerbilder.”

Thomae, Otto. *Die Propaganda-Maschinerie. Bildende Kunst und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Dritten Reich*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1978, p. 174.

⁴⁶¹ See also:

Kerbs/Uka/Walz-Richter (1983).

illustrated magazines, for instance, contained portrait photographs showing male detainees who were meant to look “criminal.” This was achieved not only by choosing men with facial peculiarities such as a broken nose, but also through the use of conventions for police photos (frontal view or profile, no lighting effects).⁴⁶² A photomontage in the Taschenbuch *Schönheit der Arbeit*, which attempted to portray the new beauty of German work places, shows a collage of a man dressed like a poor (possibly unemployed) worker in front of a modernist building, the Union headquarters in Frankfurt. The aim of this image was to show the disjunction between the worker’s mundane situation and the loftiness ascribed to the Union’s political internationalism. In juxtaposition, the book also shows images of industrial equipment and technical facilities that were of the highest, most modern standards, suggesting that National Socialism valued the actual environment of workers more than political ideology, enforcing the citation by Adolf Hitler on the frontispiece of the book: “*Schönheit der Arbeit ist edelster Sozialismus.*”⁴⁶³ In order to discourage the mailing of kitschy scenes as postcards from the front, the RMfVP even suggested the production of postcards featuring “reproductions of good, proper portraits of girls and women,” according to a notice in *Meldungen aus dem Deutschen Reich* dating from February 28, 1940.⁴⁶⁴ In addition, photo exhibitions had become an important venue for National Socialist propaganda and photographs. According to Ulrich Pohlmann, the propaganda ministry utilized large-scale prints and symmetrical exhibition design to achieve “political emotionalization.”⁴⁶⁵ Erna Lendvai-Dircksen’s work was displayed in booths at a large photography exhibition, *Die Kamera*, in 1933. The booth’s title was *Das deutsche Volksgesicht*.

Along with Lendvai-Dircksen’s photos, photographs by another photographer, Hans Retzlaff (1902-1965), were also displayed at *Die Kamera* at a booth titled *Lebendige Deutsche in Volkstrachten*. Retzlaff only started photographing after he was laid off from his job as a bank

⁴⁶² A British illustrated magazine printed the same photographs of the Dachau camp, but excluded the suggestive portraits.

Hoffmann, Detlef. “Fotografierte Lager. Überlegungen zu einer Fotogeschichte deutscher Konzentrationslager.” *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 14, no. 54 (1994), pp. 6-9.

⁴⁶³ Hübner, Anatol von. *Das Taschenbuch Schönheit der Arbeit*. Introduction by Albert Speer. Berlin: Verlag der deutschen Arbeitsfront, 1938, pp. 72, 116.

⁴⁶⁴ *Meldungen aus dem Deutschen Reich* (February 28, 1940).

⁴⁶⁵ Pohlmann, Ulrich. “Nicht beziehungslose Kunst, sondern politische Waffe’ Fotoausstellungen als Mittel der Ästhetisierung von Politik und Ökonomie im Nationalsozialismus.” *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 8, no. 28 (1998), p. 22-23.

Wolfgang Kemp argues that frescoes later took the place of large-scale photographs, which was, according to Pohlmann, only true with regards to international exhibitions.

Kemp, Wolfgang. *Foto-Essays zur Geschichte und Theorie der Fotografie*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1978, p. 42.

clerk around in 1929.⁴⁶⁶ By the mid 1930s, his photos were widely featured in popular magazines as well as in racist publications, such as a 1939 issue of the *Monatsschrift für den Nordischen Gedanken* or *Volk und Rasse* (October 1940, Number 10, 1942 edition).⁴⁶⁷ Hans Retzlaff published several books on his own, among them the reactionary *Arbeitsmaiden am Werk*, a collection of 96 photographs showing uniformed young female members of the Reichsarbeitsdienst posing for Retzlaff at “typical” tasks such as watching children and ducklings, all in sunny weather. The photographs were complemented by texts by Nazi leaders.⁴⁶⁸ More typical of Retzlaff’s work, however, was his 1937 book *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen. Antlitz eines deutschen Bauernstammes*, which features 96 photographs (only a fraction of the many he took, which were later published elsewhere) mainly portraying individuals in folkloristic costume, interspersed with a few images of people at work or at church and some views of villages and farmyards.⁴⁶⁹ But Retzlaff’s motivation for his early photographs documenting the “*Siebenbürger Sachsen*” was of ethnographic, not nationalistic, nature. Gudrun König and Ulrich Hägele argue that a “*Visualisierungsschub*” in the discipline of Volkskunde led to the omnipresence of Retzlaff’s photographs.⁴⁷⁰ As is evident in his photographs, Retzlaff is particularly fascinated with the ethnic group’s costume, which he describes as a remarkable creative outlet that at the same time signals social status not only with regards to economic means, but also according to familial and generational status.⁴⁷¹ Retzlaff’s descriptions of his

⁴⁶⁶ Erich Retzlaff had apparently often stressed that he was not related to Hans Retzlaff.

Sachsse, Rolf. “Skizze zu Erich Retzlaff.” *Fotografie. Zeitschrift internationaler Fotokunst*, vol. 4, no. 12, Göttingen 1980, p. 51.

⁴⁶⁷ Lehmann, Emil. “Vom Deutschtum in der Sloakei.” *Monatsschrift für den Nordischen Gedanken*, vol. 6 (1939), pp. 168-172.

⁴⁶⁸ Retzlaff, Hans. *Arbeitsmaiden am Werk*. Leipzig: Seemann, 1940.

⁴⁶⁹ Later publications:

Retzlaff, Hans. *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen. Antlitz eines deutschen Bauernstammes*. Stuttgart: Hans E. Günther, 1959.

⁴⁷⁰ Hägele, Ulrich/König, Gudrun (eds.). *Volkskundliche Dokumente: Hans Retzlaffs Fotografien 1930 bis 1945*. Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1999, p. 18.

On Hans Retzlaff:

Philipp, Claudia Gabriele. *Deutsche Volkstrachten, Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte. Der Photograph Hans Retzlaff 1902-1965*. Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1987.

On a history of the use of photography in ethnography:

Theye, Thomas. *Der geraubte Schatten: die Photographie als ethnographisches Dokument*. Exh. Cat. Munich: Bucher, 1989.

⁴⁷¹ “In den vielen deutschen Dörfern Siebenbürgens, in denen noch wirklich Tracht getragen wird, gehört sie dem Gemeinschaftswillen an, ist sie Trägerin der Gemeinschaft und Ausdruck ihrer mannigfaltigen Gliederung.”

Retzlaff, Hans. *Bildnis eines deutschen Bauernvolkes. Die Siebenbürger Sachsen*. Berlin: Verlag Grenze und Ausland, 1936, pp. VII-IX.

subjects are filled with amazement concerning the survival of this group and their customs.⁴⁷² In reality, it was no longer common for rural populations to wear the costume, or “*Tracht*,” by 1933.⁴⁷³ The folkloristic costumes, which had changed continuously and considerably throughout their history, were not part of everyday life, but put on by whichever local (or external) resident would volunteer to pose for Retzlaff’s photos.⁴⁷⁴ The “Siebenbürger” photos reveal the same desire to indulge in the material qualities of his subjects’ surroundings – fabrics, wood, feathers, pearls, are rendered magnificent. They also highlight the strangeness of the costumes: one photo shows a woman from a plain frontal view; her face, however, is not centered but located in the bottom half of the image because of a very large radial ornament (about fifty centimeters in diameter) attached to the back of her high, pitch-black hat (fig. 3.6). The ornament’s eight rays, according to Retzlaff, are decorated with (presumably industrially produced) artificial flowers and “*Flimmerzeug*” and required the wearer to move in a prescribed manner.⁴⁷⁵ In fact, Retzlaff even compares the Siebenbürger costume to *déclassé* Rococo, which was implicitly fussy, frivolous, and French:

Die äußerste Verfeinerung der Tracht und damit die äußerste Verfeinerung des bäuerlichen Kunstempfindens zeigt dieses Frauenbildnis. Die weichen Mullröcke, gebauscht wie eine Glocke, die Hemdärmel duftig und weich. Die satten Farben des geblühten Leibchens durch Plüschbüschel gedämpft, so ist hier Rokokotracht heute noch voller Lebendigkeit.⁴⁷⁶

While Retzlaff did portray an apparently healthy line of peasants, the elaborate fabrication and lavish use of mass-produced materials for the outlandish costumes were hardly in accordance with the National Socialist vision of simple, “*bodenständig*” farm life. In fact, the Nazis rejected the many “*artfremd*” influences in traditional costume.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷² This applies particularly to Retzlaff’s book on the Siebenbürger Sachsen, described below and also his publications on the Schwalm-Region.

Retzlaff, Hans. *Die Schwalm. Kulturbild einer hessischen Landschaft*. Berlin: Bong, 1936.

⁴⁷³ Irion, Klaus/Schulz, Oliver. „Die Politik hinter der Tracht.“ In: Haegeler/König (1999), p. 90.

⁴⁷⁴ Bilder, Helge/Irion, Klaus/Schulz, Oliver. „Die Biographie eines Bildes.“ In: Haegeler/König (1999), p. 93 [93-97.]

⁴⁷⁵ Retzlaff, Hans. *Bildnis eines deutschen Bauernvolkes. Die Siebenbürger Sachsen*. Berlin: Verlag Grenze und Ausland, 1936, p. XXI, fig. 49.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., p. XXIII, fig. 80.

⁴⁷⁷ Schmitt, Heinz. „Theorie und Praxis nationalsozialistischer Trachtenpflege.“ In: Gerndt, Helge (ed.). *Volkskunde und Nationalsozialismus*. Munich: Münchener Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1987, p. 212. Hans Retzlaff’s photographs on the costume of the Schwalm region were republished several times after the war and he was frequently commissioned to photograph architectural monuments for touristic publications.

Both Erna Lendvai-Dircksen's and Hans Retzlaff's experimentation with stylized, visually indulgent rural portrait and landscape photography had roots in the ethnographic tradition of "Volkskunde." The photograph was one of the most important tools in the establishment of the discipline of Volkskunde.⁴⁷⁸ Physiognomy and its representation had been basic pillars of "Volkskunde" since ethnographer Michael Haberlandt had formulated the categories of photographic images to be used in 1896: "*Anthropologische Typenbilder*," "*Aufnahmen zur Hauskunde*," "*Trachtenbilder*," "*Cultische Gegenstände auf Feld und Flur*," "*Volkstümliche Spiele und Lustbarkeiten*," and "*Scenen und Situationen bei der ländlichen Arbeit*."⁴⁷⁹ Volkskunde became a proper discipline in the mid-nineteenth century, focusing on "typical" material manifestations of national history. Late nineteenth century reformers like Bruno Haldy were enthusiastic about its growing popularity:

Es ist zweifellos, daß der Photographie ein großer Anteil an der Wiedererweckung des allgemeinen Interesses für das heimische Land gebührt. Erst die Photographie hat es möglich gemacht, die Kunde von den Schätzen der Heimat, sei es in landschaftlicher oder baulicher Beziehung in alle Kreise dringen zu lassen. Vielfach ist es die künstlerische Fotografie gewesen, die die in Stadt und Land neue Schönheiten, Altes, längst bekanntes in neuem Lichte entdeckt hat.⁴⁸⁰

Rapid industrialization provided the means to capture the culture whose decline it was causing, once ethnographers believed themselves to have found a "realistic" medium for representation.⁴⁸¹ The *Museum für Volkskunde* was opened in 1889 in Berlin through the initiative of the doctor and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) with an unsystematic collection of objects. Virchow also planned to draw on photos from the *Bildarchiv der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, which

⁴⁷⁸ Several authors described the benefits of the use of photography for ethnology:

Haberlandt, Michael. "Die Photographie im Dienste der Volkskunde." *Wiener Photographische Blätter* 3 (1896), pp. 97-100.

Kaindl, Raimund Friedrich. *Die Volkskunde. Ihre Bedeutung, ihre Ziele und ihre Methode mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zu den historischen Wissenschaften. Ein Leitfaden zur Einführung in die Volksforschung*. Leipzig/Wien: F. Deutike, 1903.

Ulrich Haegele provides an excellent overview over the use of photography in late nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropology:

Haegele, Ulrich. "Visuelle Tradierung des Popularen. Zur frühen Rezeption volkskundlicher Fotografie." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, vol. 93 (1997), pp. 159-187.

⁴⁷⁹ Haberlandt (1896).

Göttisch, Silke. „'Die schwere Kunst des Sehens.' Zur Diskussion um Amateurfotografie in Volkskunde und Heimatbewegung um 1900." In: Lipp, Carola (ed.). *Medien populärer Kultur. Erzählungen, Bild und Objekt in der volkskundlichen Forschung. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich zum 60. Geburtstag 1995*. Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus, 1995, pp. 395-405.

Bausinger, Hermann. *Volkskunde. Von der Altertumsforschung zur Kulturanalyse*. Darmstadt: Habel, 1970.

⁴⁸⁰ Haldy, Bruno. "Photographie und Heimatschutz." *Photographische Mitteilungen*, vol. 46 (1909), pp. 244-249.

⁴⁸¹ Haegele/König (1999), p. 9-10.

included a hodgepodge of late nineteenth-century photos by several amateur photographers (including Virchow) showing traditional costume, work processes, and building types.⁴⁸² Heimatvereine and Geschichtsvereine began to flourish on the local level at the end of the nineteenth century, along with a myriad of other professional and recreational clubs organized for architects, engineers, tourists, hikers, and others who by the early twentieth century were often interested in amateur photography.⁴⁸³ The first photos to be published in the important *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* in 1891 were architectural photographs depicting two picturesque views of a homestead in rural Germany.⁴⁸⁴ The supposed doom of Heimat was frequently equated with the loss of “traditional” identity.⁴⁸⁵ The “discovery of Heimat” can be located in the late nineteenth century, exemplified, for instance, by the founding of the “*Ausschuß für Wohlfahrtspflege auf dem Lande*” by Heinrich Sohnrey in 1896.⁴⁸⁶ The search for the “Volks Gesicht” entailed extensive ethnographic cataloguing of physiognomic traits in the 1930s:

Destinations did not have to be as exotic as Asia, mysterious as Africa, or adventurous as America’s ‘Wild West’—sometimes a neighboring village was far enough away to allow a photographer to see things and people with the eyes of an outsider or ethnographer: even at home there were ‘strange’ faces to be measured and recorded with the camera: often as documentation of the appearance of different, often marginal groups.⁴⁸⁷

The production of visual evidence of widely unknown but supposedly contemporary manifestations of Heimat could serve to endow its consumers with a sense of national identity.⁴⁸⁸ As Ulrich Haegle has noted, “folkloristic photography gave a sense of identity to a reactionary bourgeois fear of loss.”⁴⁸⁹ Paradoxically, the popularity of clothing in a folkloristic style was a

⁴⁸² This collection included photographs from several European countries such as Italy and images that were obviously staged and taken in order to be reproduced as souvenirs for tourists.

Ziehe, Irene. “‘Dem Trachtenmuseum zu Berlin gewidmet...’ Die Anfänge der Fotosammlung des Museums für Volkskunde Berlin.” *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 14, no. 52, (1994), pp. 15-26.

⁴⁸³ Speitkamp, Winfried. *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte. Denkmalpflege und Staat 1871-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, pp. 120-126.

On amateur photography and *Volkskunde* in particular:

Göttsch, Silke. „‘Die schwere Kunst des Sehens.’ Zur Diskussion um Amateurfotografie in Volkskunde und Heimatbewegung um 1900.“ In: Lipp (1995), pp. 395-405.

⁴⁸⁴ Jahn, Ulrich/Meyer Cohn, Alexander. “Jamud bei Cöstlin mit Berücksichtigung der Sammlungen des Museums für deutsche Volkstrachten und Erzeugnisse des Hausgewerbes zu Berlin.” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, Vol. 1 (1891), p. 81. [77-100]

⁴⁸⁵ Hartung, Werner. „Das Vaterland als Hort von Heimat.“ In: Klüeting (1991), p. 114.

⁴⁸⁶ Bergmann (1970), p. 88.

⁴⁸⁷ Frey, Janos. „Das Volks Gesicht.“ In: Frey/Faber (2000), p. 81.

⁴⁸⁸ Becker, Karin. “The Photographic Archive and the Construction of National Culture.” *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, vol. 23 (1993), pp. 114-130.

⁴⁸⁹ Haegle, Ulrich. “Visuelle Tradierung des Popularen. Zur frühen Rezeption volkskundlicher Fotografie.” *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, vol. 93 (1997), p. 184.

result of industrialization. Celia Applegate points to the invention of folklore in the case of the inhabitants of the Palatinate, whose artificial, often mass-produced folkloristic costume was meant to “seek some common denominator, some cultural heritage available to all. Pfälzer [Palatine] folklore became the repository of a wide-spread longing, not for the bygone past as such, but for the unalienated, undivided life.”⁴⁹⁰

The Nazis made great efforts to popularize and utilize *Volkskunde*.⁴⁹¹ Anything that incorporated the term “Volk” obviously needed to be taken advantage of. In his diary, written between 1933 and 1945, journalist Victor Klemperer wrote of the excessive use of the term: “*Volk* is now being used in speaking and writing as often as salt is with food. Everything receives a pinch of *Volk*: folk festival, folk comrade, folk community, folklike, folk-alien, folk-derived.”⁴⁹² But of course, the sometimes outlandish and fractious rural customs had to be highly regulated and centralized. In 1933, the Nazis founded the “*Reichsbund Volkstum und Heimat*” under Rudolf Heß (1894-1984), and most reformist groups relating to *Heimat*, the environment, and the landscape were subsumed into this group.⁴⁹³ Gert Gröning and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn claim that this happened without any resistance (“*widerstandslos*”).⁴⁹⁴ While this might be true for most groups and some might have even applauded the recognition of their cause as an issue of national interest, there was at least some discontent with the patronizing process as well as the lack of intellectual discourse within the Nazi camp. The “*Reichsbund Volkstum und Heimat*” was meant to ensure the implementation of *image*-based, “practical” *Volkstum*.⁴⁹⁵ *Volkskunde* was to be a light conversation topic instead of “blasé” scholarly *Heimatkunde*:

⁴⁹⁰ Applegate (1990), p. 86

Marxist historian Hermann Glaser had described the nostalgic masquerading of the German population even in Wilhelmine times: “those who collected on the festival fields [...] were actually costumed bourgeois citizens of the Machine Age, who sought to overcome their anxiety about the way things are with the help of magically loaded images of the way things were.”

Glaser, Hermann. *Kultur der wilhelminischen Zeit*. Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer, 1984.

⁴⁹¹ Gerndt, Helge (ed.). *Volkskunde und Nationalsozialismus*. Munich: Münchener Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1987.

Bausinger, Herrmann. “Volkideologie und Volksforschung. Zur nationalsozialistischen Volkskunde.” *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, vol. 61 (1965), pp. 177-204.

⁴⁹² Klemperer, Victor. *LTI*. Cologne: Röderberg, 1987, p. 36.

⁴⁹³ Scheck, Thomas. *Denkmalpflege und Diktatur: die Erhaltung von Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern in Schleswig-Holstein und im Deutschen Reich zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*. Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1995, pp. 44-48.

⁴⁹⁴ Gröning, Gert/Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim. “Landschafts- und Naturschutz.” In: Kerbs/Reulecke (1998), p. 30.

⁴⁹⁵ In the first issue of the newspaper supplement *Volkstum und Heimat*, “Landeshauptmann Kolbow” describes the importance of *Volkskunde* for National Socialism: “Ich kann nicht genug vor jener falschen Romantik warnen, welche dem Nationalsozialismus wesensfremde Kreise immer noch mit dem Begriff *Heimat* verbinden. [...] Wir wollen uns dafür verantwortlich fühlen, daß [...] durch praktische

Von Volkstum und Heimat soll sie erzählen unsre neue Heimatbeilage. Sie soll von der Geschichte der Siegerländer Heimat, von seinen Menschen, seinem Boden, seiner Landschaft plaudern. Nicht in trockner Gelehrtenart, sondern lebendig.⁴⁹⁶

Photographer Manfred Pfister even described how the popularization of Heimat photography among amateurs would instill “trust” in historical narratives put forth by authoritarian figures:

Wer solchermassen unsere engere und weitere Heimat durchwandert, wird, wenn er vor den Domen und Burgen des Mittelalters, den Rathäusern der Renaissance steht, oder wenn er die Schlösser des Barock und Rokoko, die Theater und Museen des Klassizismus und Empire und die Industriebauten der modernen Zeit im Bilde festhalten will, mehr und mehr die Wahrheit des Wortes erkennen, daß Geschichte nicht nur erlebt und geschrieben, sondern auch gebaut wird und er wird auch mehr und mehr das Bedürfnis fühlen, sich der geistigen Leitung unserer großen Führer durch die deutsche Vergangenheit anzuvertrauen.⁴⁹⁷

According to Helge Gerndt, “*Volkskunde* was booming during the Third Reich. An absolute flood of individual studies and programmatic writings appeared under this name during that brief span of time, an output never to be matched again.”⁴⁹⁸ Indeed, countless publications including all publications by tiny rural associations were controlled by the *Reichsbund Volkstum und Heimat*. The same associations were also called upon to produce visual material rather than historical texts in order to produce a sense of folk identity. In an article on the new challenges for Heimatkunde, “J.B.” calls for measures to establish local histories, in particular slide shows and local chronicles: “Der Schaffung von Ortschroniken... soll erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werden.... Das westfälische Bewußtsein soll durch eine entsprechende Vortragstätigkeit gestärkt

Volkstumsarbeit die Menschen überall zu bewußten Trägern deutschen Volkstums im Sinne der nationalsozialistischen Idee erzogen werden.”

Landeshauptmann Kolbow, “Verwaltung und Heimatpflege.” *Volkstum und Heimat. Heimatbeilage der Siegerländer National-Zeitung*, no. 1 (January 7, 1936).

Walter Kreidler described the right use of photography in *Volkskunde* in a 1937 article in the new journal *Folk*.

Kreidler, Walter. „Die Fotografie in der Volkskunde.“ *Folk. Zeitschrift des internationalen Verbandes für Volksforschung*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1937), pp. 191-199.

⁴⁹⁶ *Volkstum und Heimat. Heimatbeilage der Siegerländer National-Zeitung*, April 10, 1937.

⁴⁹⁷ Pfister, Manfred. “Heimat und Lichtbild.” *Mein Heimatland. Badische Blätter für Volkskunde, Heimatpflege, Familienforschung und Kunst*, vol. 19 (1932), p. 12.

⁴⁹⁸ Gerndt, Helge. “Folklore and National Socialism. Questions for Further Investigation.” In: Dow, James R./Lixfeld, Hannjost (eds.). *The Nazification of an Academic Discipline. Folklore in the Third Reich*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 2.

Unfortunately, none of the essays in this volume mentions the issue of photography or any visual material for that matter.

werden.”⁴⁹⁹ One example of such a chronicle is the *Ortschronik Niederschelden*, begun in 1938, a photo album with a hodgepodge collection of pictures of landscapes, portraits, small-town National Socialist events, and houses (fig. 3.7).⁵⁰⁰

The house as the epitome of Heimat was also a common trope in 1930s popular literature. In his 1932 book *Volk und Vaterland*, Max Jungnickel published presumably fictional anecdotes about Germans, such as one about the young man (about 30 years of age) he meets on the train. The man is from the Erzgebirge but is returning from Riga, where he worked for a traveling circus. He opens his travel box for the author and shows him a photograph:

Auf dem Innendeckel ist eine Photographie. Wohl von einem kleinen Dutzendphotographen aufgenommen: ein niedriges, ärmliches Wohnhaus. Ein gebeugter, bärtiger, pfeifenrauchender Bauer davor. Daneben die Frau im großen Kopftuch, abgearbeitet und etwas in die Breite gegangen. Um die beiden herum, in der Tür, an der Hauswand, lauter Kinder. Fünf Jungen und vier Mädchen. Groß und stämmig.... Ich frage den Mann: ob das sein Heimathaus sei? Er nickt. Und nun beuge ich mich weit vornüber und sehe mir das Bild genauer an. Es ist mit Heftzwecken festgemacht, die schon angerostet sind. Das Bild selbst ist abgegriffen, als ob da oft Finger darübergestrichen wären, rauhe, zudringliche Finger. Aber wie ich in das Bild blicke, da ist's mir, als ob aus dem Bilde, wie aus einer geheimen Quelle, eine tiefe Stille und Seligkeit in meine Seele rinnt. Es ist wohl das Wort Heimat, das sich aus einem verwanderten Herzen gelöst hat und sich selbst in allen singt.⁵⁰¹

Houses that qualified as signifiers of Heimat were, however, always to be part of a specific regional landscape. Several books by Albert Renger-Patzsch showed such “typical” regional houses and landscapes. In the foreword to *Das silberne Erzgebirge*, for instance, F.E. Krauß described the photographs as especially good because they evoked desire for a certain landscape, even if the viewer of the photo book did not know the region: “Dann ist ein Bild sehr gut, wenn es eine große Sehnsucht nach der Landschaft entzündet, die es darstellt.”⁵⁰² The photo book *Kupferhammer Grünthal. Vierhundert Jahre deutscher Arbeiterkultur 1537-1937* exemplifies the attempt to glorify even the actual work place as “Heimat.” (fig. 3.8)⁵⁰³ Conceived as a *Festschrift*

⁴⁹⁹ B., J. “Aus der Heimatarbeit.” *Heimat und Reich. Monatshefte für westfälisches Volkstum*, no. 2 (1935), p. 76.

⁵⁰⁰ Also first published:

Kruse Hans. *Das Siegerland in schönen Bildern*. Siegen/Leipzig: Schneider, 1935.

⁵⁰¹ Jungnickel, Max. *Volk und Vaterland*. Berlin: Safari-Verlag, 1932, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁰² Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Das silberne Erzgebirge*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1940, n.p.

⁵⁰³ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Kupferhammer Grünthal. Vierhundert Jahre deutscher Arbeiterkultur 1537-1937*. Texts by Ernst van Laer and F.A. Langer. Grünthal-Aue: Metallwerke AG, 1937.

For another analysis of workplace photography under National Socialism see Richard Hiepe’s analysis of

for the hundredth anniversary of the *Metallwerke Kupferhammer Grünthal*, the photo book *Kupferhammer Grünthal* is a very dramatic and fantastic account of a metal production plant in the Erzgebirge (Eastern Germany), at that point owned by the larger corporation F.A. Lange Metallwerke after it had been saved from bankruptcy through government funds.⁵⁰⁴ Even though the plant and working conditions were outdated, both are idealized in the publication and framed as a part of regional rural history.⁵⁰⁵ The book includes 51 photos of workers, historic, administrative, and residential buildings from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, as well as workplaces for metal production, tools, and metal products. The accompanying text by Ernst van Laer is printed in what might best be described as modernist fraktur type and describes the history of region:

Land, Mensch und Werk: das ist der Kreis, der unser Leben umschließt.
Arbeit füllt ihn aus. Er vollendet sich in der Gemeinschaft.... Schau weit ins
Land, wenn es sich in der Mittagsstille breitet, vernimm der Wälder heimlich
Lied und atme tief den Frieden der bergeinsamkeit in Dich hinein: dann geht
Dir auf, daß hier gefunden wurde, wonach das Menschenherz sich sehnt:
Die Heimat.⁵⁰⁶

Physical space was seen to have a “pedagogical importance in the development of young people.”⁵⁰⁷ At an inaugural lecture for a youth hostel, Baldur von Schirach, the Youth Leader of the German Empire, called to Germans to “create spaces in which the negative is not conceivable and hence cannot come into existence.”⁵⁰⁸ Construction was to change all aspects of life and the entire existing and projected German landscape into “good” National Socialist space. According to David Blackbourne, the ongoing cultivation of “natural” German landscape increased after World War I and was a result of the Treaty of Versailles because of the Germans’ perception of

the image of workplaces in the magazine “Illustrierter Beobachter.”

Hiepe (1983), p. 119.

⁵⁰⁴ “Ein Werk, das so viele Jahrhunderte überdauert hatte, durfte nicht zugrunde gehen. So wurden die schwersten Jahre deutscher Wirtschaftsgeschichte durchkämpft, bis Adolf Hitler an die Macht kam. Eine neue Zeit ist angebrochen, gewaltiger und umfassender in ihrer Bewegung als das deutsche Volk sie jemals erleben durfte.”

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Kupferhammer Grünthal. Vierhundert Jahre deutscher Arbeiterkultur 1537-1937*. Texts by Ernst van Laer and F.A. Langer. Grünthal-Aue: Metallwerke AG, 1937, n.p.

⁵⁰⁵ Kierdorf, Alexander/Hassler, Uta. *Denkmale des Industriezeitalters. Von der Geschichte des Umgangs mit Industriekultur*. Berlin: Wasmuth, 2000, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁰⁶ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Kupferhammer Grünthal. Vierhundert Jahre deutscher Arbeiterkultur 1537-1937*. Texts by Ernst van Laer and F.A. Langer. Grünthal-Aue: Metallwerke AG, 1937, n.p.

⁵⁰⁷ Schirach, Baldur von. „Rede bei der Einweihung der Jugendherberge Annaberg.“ *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, no. 22, November 15, 1937.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

themselves of a “*Volk ohne Raum*.”⁵⁰⁹ The realization and appearance of the new infrastructural changes was therefore important. When Fritz Todt, the General Inspector for the Regulation of the Construction Industry between 1938 and 1942 and a self-proclaimed “guardian of the Heimatschutz ideal,” had massive stretches of landscape covered by the Autobahn, its construction was documented in a manner that suggested it was immanent to the German landscape and its builders.⁵¹⁰ Lendvai-Dircksen’s popular book *Reichsautobahn. Mensch und Werk* showed images of the Autobahn being embedded into the landscape in picturesque serpentine and stemmed by massive piers, the rusticated sandstone decorations of which are reflected in the close-ups of the healthy, tanned features of the male sitters.⁵¹¹ Here too, the combination and juxtaposition of architectural, landscape, and portrait photographs amounts to a redefinition of the face as a metaphor for an idealized, anthropomorphized national landscape, and vice versa. German space and “German” physiognomy became, in accordance with the “Blut- und Boden”-philosophy, inseparable, as had portrait, landscape, and architectural photography. The 1935 photo book *Deutsches Volk–Deutsche Heimat*, edited by the National Socialist teacher’s union, the “*Erzieher des Volkes*,” encompassed a combination of portraits and architecture, often medieval, and stated that German youth *needed* to see Germany in photographs. A supplementary “Text- und Kartenband,” published in 1937, mentions the “positive response” to the photo book and the efforts to protect the authentic German landscape (and, by extension, German population) from “uncontrolled technological developments” through the help of the “Baupolizei.”⁵¹² The conflation of physical space and the German body is taken to

⁵⁰⁹ Blackbourne (2006), p. 6.

The term “Volk ohne Raum” in fact is taken from a novel by Hans Grimm, that uses the tragic biography of farmers’ son Cornelius Friebott as a vehicle to promote a combination of agrarian romanticism, anti-semitism, and geopolitical goals.

Grimm, Hans. *Volk ohne Raum*. Munich: Albert Langen, 1926.

⁵¹⁰ Jefferies, Matthew. *Politics and Culture in Wilhelmine Germany. The Case of Industrial Architecture*. Oxford/Washington, D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1995, p. 53.

Lendvai-Dircksen (1937).

C.f. Thiessen, Rudi. “Die Ästhetik der Unterwerfung. Ein Versuch über die Nationalsozialistische Architektur als Soziologie.” In: Jaeggi, Urs et al. *Geist und Katastrophe. Studien zur Soziologie im Nationalsozialismus*. Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Autoren-Verlag, 1983, p. 313.

⁵¹¹ In reality, much of the work was done by forced laborers under abysmal working conditions.

The photos are accompanied by poetic verses by Emil Maier-Dorn. In one of these verses Maier-Dorn describes the cosmetically therapeutic effect of the Autobahn: “Deine großen Straßen helfen die tausend Sünden tilgen, von den grauen Städten, von den kahlen Jahrzehnten Dir ins Gesicht gegraben.”

Lendvai-Dircksen (1937).

See also: Harz, Hermann. *Das Erlebnis der Reichsautobahn*. Munich: Callwey 1943.

Ulmer, Manfred. *Meisterphotos der Reichsbahnzeit. 110 Aufnahmen von Alfred Ulmer. 1930-1940*. Stuttgart: Franckh, 1976.

⁵¹² Schemm, Hans. (ed.), *Deutsches Volk–Deutsche Heimat. Bildband*. Commissioned by the Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund. Bayreuth: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1935.

an extreme by biologist and preservationist Walter Schoenichen, who in his 1939 book *Biologie der Landschaft* suggests that the practice of advertisement in the landscape might be “a social-psychological infection that could be traced to an infection with Jewish poison.”⁵¹³

Eugenics of Space – Heimatschutz

Folklore and tradition had been underutilized vehicles of manifesting state power in Wilhelmine Germany, and it seemed that the National Socialist government would have a natural interest in architectural preservation in their cultural policy. Cultural conservatives and late nineteenth-century reformers, who had long recognized preservationist rhetoric as a possibility to forge a national identity, rejoiced at the prospect and believed that the Nazis’ emphasis on Heimat would lead to a recognition of the importance of preservation of traditional monuments and landscapes. In 1933, Hans Schwenkel, head of the office for *Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege* in the *Württembergische Landesamt für Denkmalpflege*, claimed that the Heimatschutz movement had followed the same ideals and principles as National Socialism: “Der Heimatschutz war nie etwas anderes als ein Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur. Aber sein Ruf ist weithin ungehört verhallt. Heute glaubt er daran, daß er gehört wird, so gut wie die Rassehygieniker gehört werden. Heimatschutz ist Eugenik der Kultur.”⁵¹⁴ Historian Werner Lindner praised the new Nazi government’s appreciation of tradition in the construction efforts (“*Aufbaubestrebungen*”):

Die Begriffe Volkstum und Heimat werden im Aufbau des neuen Reichs hoch bewertet. Damit rücken auch Heimatschutz und Heimatpflege in den Mittelpunkt der Aufbaubestrebungen. Weg und Ziel sind für sie die gleichen geblieben, aber die Auswirkungsmöglichkeiten sind nun ungeahnt gewachsen.... [Nun muß er] im neuen Reich mit Ernst und Nachdruck bei allem Tun und Lassen im Bild der Heimat mitwirken.⁵¹⁵

Lindner hoped that the Heimatschutz movement would finally be taken seriously, and his heroic rhetoric reflects the myth of the vindicated underdog excessively used by the Nazis:

“Heimatschutz wurde – das war ganz selbstverständlich – lange Zeit vielfach verhöhnt, für

Wächtler, Fritz (ed.). *Deutsches Volk–Deutsche Heimat. Text- und Kartenband*. Munich: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1937.

⁵¹³ Schoenichen, Walter. *Biologie der Landschaft*. Berlin: Neumann, 1939, p. 76.

⁵¹⁴ Schwenkel, Hans. “Heimatschutz im nationalen Deutschland.” *Blätter für Volkskunde, Heimat und Naturschutz*, no. 7-8 (1933), p. 231-32.

⁵¹⁵ Lindner, Werner. *Der Heimatschutz im neuen Reich. Schriften zur deutschen Lebenssicht*. Leipzig: Seemann, 1934, p. 5.

rückschrittlich und weltfremd erklärt. Es bedurfte großer Zähigkeit, ihn gegen eine Welt von Feinden durchzuhalten.”⁵¹⁶ But in his essay, Lindner only mentions specific issues concerning preservation of old buildings passingly. What he hoped to achieve instead was a vague ideological foundation for the appreciation of “Germanness”: “Unsere Jugend muß zu den Quellen des völkischen Wesens und Schaffens zurückfinden und zurückgeführt werden.... Es ist tatsächlich lehrbar.”⁵¹⁷ Indeed, preservation was officially considered an ideological and pedagogical issue. Preservation was explicitly excluded from Goebbels’ Ministry for Propaganda, which otherwise was responsible for all artistic issues since 1933. Instead, it became the responsibility of the *Amt für Volksbildung im Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*. Leading preservationists called for an inclusion of images of monuments into the school curriculum in order to foster “*Augensinnlichkeit*.”⁵¹⁸

In fact, neither time nor energy were wasted on connoisseurship or discussions of authenticity and significance of individual buildings.⁵¹⁹ The Nazi government swiftly passed national laws such as the “*Gesetz zum Schutz der nationalen Symbole*” on May 19, 1933 or the “*Reichsnaturschutzgesetz*” on June 26, 1935.⁵²⁰ The Nazi government claimed to be the first to issue a law officially regulating preservation. Felix Hammer, however, points out that the laws had mainly symbolic value for National Socialists and were a reflection of the overall effort to strengthen national pride.⁵²¹ Norbert Huse disregards the Nazis’ emphasis on conservation by merely mentioning the time period in his overview *Denkmalpflege. Deutsche Texte aus drei*

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

⁵¹⁸ “Denkschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft.” Tagungsbericht Kassel 1933, pp. 205-210. Cited in: Fleischner, Susanne. *Schöpferische Denkmalpflege: Kulturideologie des Nationalsozialismus und Positionen der Denkmalpflege*. Münster: LIT, 1999, p. 31.

⁵¹⁹ Winfried Speitkamp provides the most comprehensive account of the history of preservation in Germany between 1871 and 1933.

Speitkamp (1996).

⁵²⁰ Reichsgesetzblatt I, p. 285 and Reichsgesetzblatt I, p. 821.

Since the sovereignty of individual states was drastically cut in 1933 and 1934, laws were generally passed at the national level.

⁵²¹ During the Kaiserreich several individual states had passed relatively ineffective laws governing the preservation of monuments in the first two centuries of the twentieth century, most often these laws were called “*Verunstaltungsgesetze*.”

Hammer, Felix. *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Denkmalrechts in Deutschland*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995, pp. 130-133, 226-235.

Also:

Scheck (1995), p 29.

Mai, Ekkehard/Waetzoldt, Stephan (eds.). *Kunstverwaltung, Bau- und Denkmal-Politik im Kaiserreich*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1981.

Jahrhunderten, suggesting that preservation was not seriously practiced or attempted by Nazis.⁵²² Thomas Scheck, whose study of the preservation movement during the Third Reich in Schleswig-Holstein remains constitutive, proves the symbolic importance of historical architecture for the Nazis but also reveals the problems associated with its centralization.⁵²³ Preservation's role had become that of a "Mahnerin einer besseren Zeit."⁵²⁴ But committed preservationists were discouraged from their work. The habitus of the earnest historian was rejected in favor of youthful and useful vitality. A letter by a "*Kraft durch Freude*" functionary in the publication *Volkstum und Heimat* suggests that "Heimatkunde" had previously been a dry and useless exercise by stodgy old men: "Diese von uns in den Vordergrund gestellte Pflege des 'Volkstums' hat nichts gemein mit der früheren trockenen Geschichtschreibung, nein, Volkstum soll etwas Faßbares, Natürliches, Lebendiges sein."⁵²⁵ At the same time, many formerly unemployed young art historians and architects were recruited and trained for a large-scale project to produce an inventory of architectural monuments via photographs (a project that remained unrealized). Indeed, the image of historians *themselves* was used in declaring a new approach to historical preservation. The training camps for art historians selected for the inventarization project included athletic activities, and photographs of the scantily dressed young art historians at recreation were featured in illustrated magazines (fig. 3.9).⁵²⁶

While preservationists like Robert Hiecke described the aim of preservation as "unverfälschte Überlieferung," many monuments were in fact changed dramatically according to the idealized National Socialist historical narrative.⁵²⁷ Those working in preservation were aware of the nationalist intentions of their work and presented the results of their "research" accordingly: Gottfried Kiesow claims that when, during the course of the restoration of the Braunschweig cathedral, it was discovered that the exhumed Heinrich der Löwe was not very "Aryan"-looking but rather had a dark complexion and black hair, Hitler was sent a bleached lock

⁵²² Huse, Norbert (ed.). *Denkmalpflege. Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten* (1984). Munich: Ch. Beck, 2006, p. 184.

As a proponent of preservation, Huse is interested in painting a positive picture.

⁵²³ Scheck (1995), p. 30.

⁵²⁴ Fleischner (1999), p. 14.

⁵²⁵ Letter by M. Gilles, Kreiswart Kraft durch Freude. *Volkstum und Heimat. Heimatbeilage der Siegerländer National-Zeitung*, first issue (June 9, 1934), n. p.

⁵²⁶ Scheck (1995), pp. 91-94.

Scheck cites several reports on the training camp, among them:

"Bestandsaufnahme der Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Deutschlands." *Zeitgeschehen im Wochenbild, Illustrierte Wochenbeilage*, no. 36 (1934).

⁵²⁷ *Tagungsbericht Tag für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1937, p. 11.

of light brown hair as a reliquary.⁵²⁸ Projects claiming “restoration” often fed into the fantastic image of a great Germanic history, such as the refurbishment of the Nuremberg Kaiserburg, which was stripped of nineteenth-century accoutrements such as neo-Gothic banisters and interior decorations and outfitted in a somber but folksy décor in order to serve as a guest house for VIPs during *Reichsparteitage*.⁵²⁹ Furthermore, medieval cathedrals and cloisters were among the monuments considered to attest to a great Germanic heritage, and projects aiming at their restoration received ample funding. In the course of the 1934 renovation of the Augsburg Cathedral, most interior elements dating from the late Gothic to the nineteenth century were replaced by the supposed “original” version of 1340. Other medieval buildings were renovated but were significantly altered by moving elements such as wall paintings (as in the restoration of Breslau City Hall in 1934) or even rebuilding entire parts of a building (as in the 1938 restoration of Wernigerode City Hall). In an effort to distance itself from “conserving,” preservation practice was called “*schöpferische Denkmalpflege*.”⁵³⁰ During the Third Reich, there was even less interest in accurate historical research and genuine commitment to historical buildings than there had been in the nineteenth century.⁵³¹

Hitler instead focused on building a new nation and new national monuments.⁵³² All aspects of everyday life underwent massive and far-reaching monumental aesthetization, and architecture was deemed the most important branch of the arts.⁵³³ Architecture’s potential for the representation of a nation seemed unrivaled.⁵³⁴ “Und wenn Völker große Zeiten innerlich erleben,

⁵²⁸ Kiesow, Gottfried. *Einführung in die Denkmalpflege*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982, p. 26.

⁵²⁹ Scheck (1995), pp. 105-107.

⁵³⁰ Fleischner (1999), esp. pp. 14-24.

⁵³¹ According to Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, “kings and dukes supported the restoration of architectural monuments in order to present themselves as guarantors for historical and cultural continuity and solidity in times of the industrial revolution.” The Hohenzollern family, for instance, supported the restoration of the Marienburg, the restoration and reconstruction of the Schloss Stolzenfels (Koblenz) and the Vollendung of the Cologne Cathedral (1842-1880). The “Nationalisatizon” of monuments was a relatively successful concept the nineteenth century - the completion of the Cologne Dome in particular was seen as a “great German cultural achievement.”

Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi. “Wahr oder falsch. Denkmalpflege als Medium nationaler Identitätskonstruktionen.” In: Oexle, Otto Gerhard/Petneki, Áron/Zygner, Leszek (eds.). *Bilder gedeuteter Geschichte. Das Mittelalter in der Kunst und Architektur der Moderne. Vol. 2*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004, pp. 236-7.

⁵³² Hammer (1995), pp. 234, 241-245.

Thomas Scheck notes the absence of a coherent theory of preservation, which would not be surprising considering the lack of coherent theories in any respect. Scheck (1995).

⁵³³ Stollmann, Rainer. “Fascist Politics as a Total Work of Art: Tendencies of Aesthetization of Political Life in National Socialism.” *New German Critique*, no. 14 (Spring 1978), pp. 41-60.

⁵³⁴ In the *Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer*, which lists the rules for all art professionals (even puppeteers) Art historian Hans Hinkel described Hitler as “the first artist of our nation.”

so gestalten sie diese großen Zeiten auch äußerlich. Und ihr Wort ist dann jenes Wort, das länger zeugt als das gesprochene: Es ist das Wort aus Stein!”⁵³⁵ Culture was used as a tool to establish the authority of the Nazis. To this end, any visual strategy was used, including aesthetics associated with modernism.⁵³⁶ Several coffee table books were published showing off architectural monuments.⁵³⁷ But next to publications, architectural exhibitions were an important tool for Nazi propaganda, and exhibitions relating to the design of everyday life were particularly

Hinkel, Hans (ed.). *Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1937, n.p.

Frederic Spotts describes the eminent role art and especially architecture played for Hitler.

Spotts, Frederic. *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics*. London: Hutchinson, 2002, esp. 311-386.

Eric Michaud retraces the importance of the myth of art (and connected to it, christianity) in National Socialist ideology and praxis. In his terms, Hitler is the inevitable “artist-dictator.”

Michaud, Eric. *The Cult of Nazi Germany* (1994). Translated by Janet Lloyd. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Taylor, Richard. *The Word in Stone. The Role of Architecture in the National Socialist Ideology*.

Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1974, p. 15.

Schäche, Wolfgang. “Die Bedeutung der ‘Berliner Neugestaltung’ für die NS-Architekturproduktion.” In: Hinz, Berthold/Mittig, Hans-Ernst/Schäche, Wolfgang/Schönberger, Angela (eds.). *Die Dekoration der Gewalt. Kunst und Medien im Faschismus*. Giessen: anabas, 1979.

pp. 149-162.

Countless publications focus on Nazi cultural politics. The first were published in the 1960s.

Brenner (1963).

Teut (1967).

Miller Lane, Barbara. *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Taylor (1974). (contains extensive list of Nazi architecture publications)

Kunst, Hans-Jochen. „Architektur und Macht. Überlegungen zur NS-Architektur.“ *Mitteilungen, Kommentare, Berichte der Philipps-Universität Marburg*, vol. 3, no. 9 (1971), p. 51.

⁵³⁵ Hitler, Adolf. “Jede große Zeit findet ihren abschließenden Wertausdruck in ihren Bauwerken.” Speech delivered at the opening of the 1. Deutsche Architektur- und Kunsthandwerksausstellung in Munich on January 22, 1938. In: Eikmeyer, Robert (ed.). *Adolf Hitler. Reden zur Kunst- und Kulturpolitik 1933-1939*. Frankfurt/Main: Revolver, 2004, p. 209. [209-217]

Hitler was often also described as “Bauherr des Dritten Reiches” („architect of the Third Reich“).

See:

“Betrachtungen zur 1. Deutschen Architektur- und Kunsthandwerk-Ausstellung in München.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 18, no. 9, May 1, 1938, p. 256.

⁵³⁶ This includes the design of many propaganda materials for instance by former Bauhaus graphic designer Herbert Bayer’s agency Dorland.

⁵³⁷ Straub, Willy. *Die Architektur im Dritten Reich*. Stuttgart: Wedekind, 1932.

Schmitthenner, Paul. *Die Baukunst im Neuen Reich*. Munich: Callwey, 1934.

Wiedemann, W. *Industrielle Heimstättensiedlung. Der Weg zur Krisenfestigkeit des deutschen Arbeiters*. Berlin: VDJ-Verlag, 1936.

Hoffmann, Herbert. *Deutschland baut*. Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann, 1938.

Rittich, Werner. *Architektur und Bauplastik der Gegenwart*. Berlin: Rembrandt, 1938.

Troost, Gerdy (ed.). *Das Bauen im neuen Reich*. Bayreuth: Gauverlag Bayerische Ostmark, 1939.

Eggerstadt, Heinrich. “Fünf Jahre Architekturbüro der Deutschen Arbeitsfront.” *Bauen, Siedeln, Wohnen*, 19 (1939), pp. 548-559.

Schrade, Hubert. *Bauten des Dritten Reiches*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1939.

Speer, Albert. (ed.). *Neue Deutsche Baukunst*. Prague: Volk und Reich, 1943.

Wolff, Heinrich (ed.). *Grossdeutschland baut. 62 Bilder*. Königsberg: Kanter-Verlag, 1944.

popular.⁵³⁸ The 1937 exhibition *Schaffendes Volk*, for instance, though originally planned as a small Werkbund exhibition, was one of the largest exhibitions ever shown in Germany, visited by seven million visitors during its six month run.⁵³⁹ Model homes were among the exhibits of the *Schaffendes Volk* show.⁵⁴⁰ A photograph of the entry for the 1936 exhibition *Heimat und Heim*, called a “*Lehrschau*” (“educational show”), shows that the entry space featured two large-scale (4 m²) paintings flanking a Hitler bust and a swastika flag. One image shows an unkempt family with seven unruly children and a grandparent in a desolate, dirty urban courtyard, with several multi-family complexes, storage and commercial spaces, and advertisements rising behind them. The right painting shows a clean and well-dressed family in a small yard with seven children, all nicely dancing (except for the baby) in front of the clean, simple façade of a single-family home.⁵⁴¹ The murals, which were meant to exemplify the situation before and after Hitler’s rule, differed mainly through the different backdrops’ juxtaposing visions of the idealized settlement versus the vilified city.⁵⁴²

Urban Hazard

After the invasions, the geographical expansion of the Third Reich was to be followed by an army of settlers who would occupy and cultivate land. These settlements were imagined as some improved version of the photo albums and books of rural life. In order to distract from the artificiality of these constructs while making them even more appealing, “the city” was decried with fervor. Critics described urban space as decrepit and immoral; its decay was often described

⁵³⁸ Particularly photographs were used widely as documents or backdrops in the propagandistic exhibitions, not necessarily however in order to showcase specific artists, but to promote nationalist and racist agendas. Pohlmann, Ulrich. “‘Nicht beziehungslose Kunst, sondern politische Waffe’ Fotoausstellungen als Mittel der Ästhetisierung von Politik und Ökonomie im Nationalsozialismus.” *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 8, no. 28 (1998), pp. 17-32.

Also:

Sachsse, Rolf. “Propaganda für Industrie und Weltanschauung. In: NGBK (ed.). *Inszenierung der Macht. Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus*. Berlin: Nishen, 1987, pp. 273-285.

Sachsse (2003), pp. 58-68.

⁵³⁹ Schäfers, Stefanie. *Vom Werkbund zum Vierjahresplan. Die Ausstellung Schaffendes Volk*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 2001, p. 170.

Also:

Weissler, Sabine (ed.). *Design in Deutschland, 1933-45: Ästhetik und Organisation des Deutschen Werkbundes im “Dritten Reich.”* Giessen: Anabas, 1990.

⁵⁴⁰ Photos of single-family homes designed by the Gauheimstättenamt Düsseldorf are printed in: Schrader, Hubert. *Bauten des Dritten Reiches*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1939, fig. 32, n.p.

⁵⁴¹ “Ausstellung ‘Heimat und Heim’ in Duisburg.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 16, no. 13, p. 262.

⁵⁴² Another exhibition was the 1938 show about the architectural activities of the office “Schönheit der Arbeit” at the headquarters of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront.

“Modellschau der Deutschen Arbeitsfront.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 18, no. 3, February 1, 1938, pp. 68-77.

in physiognomic terms. Criticism of the city began in the nineteenth century, and reformers had many suggestions to solve urban problems such as overcrowding, poverty, and lack of basic amenities.⁵⁴³ But the Nazi's effort in creating a positive counterimage to the city was highly effective because it did not rely on theoretical scholarly approaches but on the production of comprehensive visual and narrative images.

The city's vices ranged from being plain ugly to being a serious hazard to national health. Werner Lindner, who had previously published extensively of technological buildings, published several manuals for the Nazis that used the visual strategy of Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*, the juxtaposition of example and counterexample.⁵⁴⁴ In one of his books, Lindner explicitly refers to Schultze-Naumburg's method of juxtaposing images: "Praktischer Heimatschutz will sorglich gelernt sein, und die Erziehung zum rechten Sehen ist eine der dankbarsten Aufgaben an unserer Jugend, die der Heimat so erschlossen ist wie nie zuvor."⁵⁴⁵ But unlike Schultze-Naumburg's late books, the examples were clearly identified typographically (good examples in Gothic type, bad examples in cursive typeface.)⁵⁴⁶ The analogy of façade, face, and character had become a given, visually as well as rhetorically. For the 1939 *Die Stadt. Ihre Pflege und Gestaltung*, Lindner collaborated with architect Erich Böckler. In his foreword to the book, Generalbaurat Heinrich Giesler writes: "Das Gesicht unserer großen, mittleren und kleinen Städte, charaktervoll geprägt in vergangenen Kulturabschnitten, [ist] vielfach verwässert und verdorben in der verhängnisvollen Spanne des Liberalismus."⁵⁴⁷ Lindner and Böckler clarified that urban businesses as well as the entertainment and arts industries were synonymous with modernism, which implied the transitory and the foreign: "Mit Großstadt bezeichnen wir unter anderem den internationalen Betrieb, die Halbwelt, das Elend der Arbeiterviertel, den übersteigerten Verkehr, die Unterwelt und als Folge dieser Tatsachen und einiger anderer den Kubismus in Malerei, das Atonale und den Jazz in der Musik usw."⁵⁴⁸ Moreover, Hitler is

⁵⁴³ Lees, A. "Critics of Urban Society in Germany, 1854-1914." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 40 (1979), pp. 61-83.

⁵⁴⁴ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (ed.). *Das Dorf. Seine Pflege und Gestaltung*. Texts by Werner Lindner, Franz Gutmiedl, and Erich Kulka. Munich: Verlag D. W. Callwey, 1938. The book on villages even includes a section on "The Bird's Nest in the Beautiful Village." (pp. 108-9): "Nichts lohnt sich besser auf dem Lande als ein liebevoller und vernünftiger Tierschutz."

Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939).

Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz (ed.). *Außenreklame. Ein Wegweiser in Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel*. Text by Werner Lindner. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Metzner, 1936.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1938), n.p.

Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939).

In the city book, it seems that the printer forgot to print most of the "bad" examples in italics.

⁵⁴⁷ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939), n.p.

⁵⁴⁸ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939), p. 11.

referenced as an expert on the supposed urban crisis. Next to the city's cultural decay, Hitler's graphic description of its moral decay seems particularly alluring and sensational: "Eine zweite sehr kennzeichnende Seite der Großstadt deckt der Führer gleichfalls in 'Mein Kampf' auf. Er vergleicht das öffentliche Leben mit einem Treibhaus sexueller Vorstellungen und Reize. Die Großstadtjugend ist frühreif und daher vorzeitig alt."⁵⁴⁹ Images of this urban degradation are remarkably absent from publications on the city. Instead, their authors relied on the association with widely defamed artworks and the individual's potential for "unimaginable" fantasies regarding the sexualized urban body.

Ideally, as few people as possible should live in cities. According to writer Robert von Keller, only persons of higher income and education should remain in the city, since their "intellectual interests would alleviate the dangers of lack of proximity to nature."⁵⁵⁰ Cities were supposed to be highly controlled centers for government, representation, business, commerce, and culture. In addition, the growth of cities into large cities was to be prevented by careful planning and settlement. In his extensive study *Die neue Stadt*, Gottfried Feder, *Reichkommissar für Siedlungswesen* until 1934, laid out a detailed plan for the structure of new small towns by means of texts and diagrams that showed the exact number of people necessary for every possible aspect of community life (fig. 3.10).⁵⁵¹ To address the issue of the city, the travelling exhibition *Die schöne Stadt* began touring in Berlin in early 1939. According to an article by Werner Lindner, the exhibition showed drawings and photographs of "deruined" ("entschandelt") façades, proving that amelioration was possible.⁵⁵² A photograph of the exhibition reveals tableaux featuring dramatic sayings by Hitler (set in Gothic type) as well as at least one large city model. Included in the exhibition was a model of the city of Braunschweig, a town in which support for National Socialists had been exceptionally high, and which was to be transformed into a "model National Socialist town" through an extensive restoration of its old town in 1933 (which eliminated 25 percent of housing in the city).⁵⁵³ The captions of photographs of Braunschweig in the abovementioned book *Deutsches Volk – Deutsche Heimat* describe how "*Altstadtgesundung*"

⁵⁴⁹ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939), p. 13.

⁵⁵⁰ Keller, Robert von. *Die Verlagerung der großstädtischen Industrie*. Leipzig: Meiner, 1938, p. 9.

⁵⁵¹ This information is given in form of several supplements to his book in form of large posters on which Feder provides an abstract visual plan of these human resources by means of pictograms.

Feder, Gottfried. *Die neue Stadt*. Berlin: J. Springer, 1939.

⁵⁵² Lindner, Werner. "Die Wanderausstellung 'Die schöne Stadt, ihre Entschandelung und Gestaltung'." *Heimatleben. Monatsschrift für Heimatschutz und Heimatpflege* (1939), pp. 62, 63, 205-206.

⁵⁵³ Markus Mittmann provided an extensive study of the development of the city of Braunschweig: Mittmann, Markus. *Bauen im Nationalsozialismus. Braunschweig, die "Deutsche Siedlungsstadt" und die "Mustersiedlung der Deutschen Arbeitsfront" Braunschweig Mascherode*. Hameln: CW Niemeyer, 2003.

(“old town healing”) was achieved by “tearing down houses that did not allow for light and air.” (fig. 3.11)⁵⁵⁴

In his 1936 book *Neue Wege zur Grosstadtsanierung*, sociologist Andreas Walther from the University of Hamburg repeatedly demanded that the aim of urban development should be “Volksschädigendes nicht länger zu dulden, sondern unter Kontrolle zu bringen und unschädlich zu machen.”⁵⁵⁵ In effect, the elimination of buildings corresponded with the elimination of humans, a goal first achieved by small towns, according to Lindner and Böckler: “Der Jude hat in der Großstadt leichter als in der Kleinstadt Fuß gefaßt. Als die Lösung der Judenfrage in Angriff genommen wurde, wurden ihrer die Kleinstädte sehr schnell Herr.”⁵⁵⁶ And while the city was deemed a necessary evil, useful for government, trade, and industry, small towns and the suburbs were described as sufficiently wholesome: “Am Rande unserer Großstädte hat sich viel ausgesprochen Kleinstädtisches entwickelt. Es tut dar, daß im Menschen der lebendige Hang zur gesunden Wohnform... unbeirrt vom ungezügelten Großstadtbetrieb fortlebt....”⁵⁵⁷ A photograph in the publication *Die Stadt. Ihre Pflege und Gestaltung* illustrates this point: the sunny scene shows a pudgy and tanned orderly resident standing at the terrace of his new row house, a clean cut lawn and blooming sunflowers in the foreground (fig. 3.12).⁵⁵⁸ The notion that new forms of society and settlement structures were needed was also based on economic deliberations influenced by the recent experience of the global crisis, which was particularly demoralizing for Germans. Gottfried Feder theorized that the technological age was nearing its end and that there would be permanent unemployment, so it would be advantageous to settle the unemployed in rural settings in order to gain “*Schollenverbundenheit und Vaterlandsliebe*” and avert new political radicalism.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁴ The text also clarifies that those uprooted by the demolitions supposedly received new homes outside of the city.

Schemm, Hans. (ed.), *Deutsches Volk–Deutsche Heimat. Bildband*. Commissioned by the Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund. Bayreuth: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1935, pp. 222-3.

⁵⁵⁵ Walther, Andreas. *Neue Wege zur Grosstadtsanierung*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁶ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939), p. 14.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁵⁹ Feder, Gottfried. *Kampf gegen die Hochfinanz*. Munich: Franz Eher, 1933, p. 334.

Settlements entirely for unemployed were indeed built, one such example is the Goldstein settlement outside of Frankfurt, between 1932 and 1936.

Rural Remedy

The counterparts to the criticism of city were the many publications glorifying rural or suburban life. Erich Retzlaff's book *Wir von der Scholle* was one of the first books to explicitly provide a model for the post-urban society. The foreword by Hans Blunck, an expert in phytomedicine, is in many ways a swan song on infertile urban life:

Wir wissen nicht, was die Zukunft Deutschlands bringen wird, wir wissen nur von unserem Glauben. Aber was wir schon heute erkennen, ist dieses: daß die Zeit der großen Städte sich in gaanz Europa dem Ende zuneigt.... Unsere Städte sind deutsches Volkstum, wie wir alle es sind. Aber sie sind nicht der Mutterboden, aus dem es weiterwächst. [...] Seht diese Bilder an und wisset: das sind wir, so werden wir sein.⁵⁶⁰

The photographs, however, are not of residential settings but are mainly portraits of subjects usually dressed in simple, "traditional" attire. Unlike Lendvai-Dircksen's photographs, their aesthetic is that of a snapshot, and the series does not follow any stringent system of composition, technique, or content.

But while rural settings were considered far preferable to the city, the current state of the villages was, of course, not yet perfect and also required some decontamination and self-discovery. And again, the equation of the built environment with the face was deployed: "In der Mehrzahl der deutschen Dörfer... muss äusserlich wie innerlich die unechte Tünche weggeräumt werden, damit wir das wahre Gesicht des deutschen Dorfes wiedererkennen und die in ihm wohnenden Menschen zu sich selber zurückfinden."⁵⁶¹ Accordingly, essays in a book entitled *Das Dorf. Seine Pflege und Gestaltung* also feature portrait photos, supposedly of Northern German farmers. In this book, the editors (Werner Lindner, Franz Gutmiedl, and Erich Kulke) use photographs by Hans Retzlaff and Erna Lendvai-Dircksen, among others, to prove their point that the "farm is basis of the existence of the tribe." In the village, they claim, farmers wear traditional costume and use handcrafted household goods.⁵⁶² The book features hundreds of photographs from all types of government, communal, and private sources to illustrate the ideal village. Hitler-Youth official Heinrich Hartmann's short text, "*Der HJ-Heimbau im Dorf*," shows a portrait of a

⁵⁶⁰ Blunck, Hans Fr. "Geleitwort." In: Retzlaff, Erich. *Die von der Scholle. Sechshundfünfzig photographische Bildnisse bodenständiger Menschen*. Göttingen: Verlag der Deuerlich'schen Buchhandlung, 1931, p. VII.

⁵⁶¹ Manuscript of Franz Gutmiedl for a lecture at the Weltkongress für Freizeit und Erholung. "Das schöne Dorf." N.d.

Bundesarchiv Berlin, NS5/VI 5427.

⁵⁶² Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1938), p. 7.

well-groomed, tanned, blond male teenager who is looking upward with an expression of hope and a desire for guidance (fig. 3.13). The photograph is Erna Lendvai-Dircksen's.⁵⁶³ A design drawing for a farmhouse shown in front and side elevations is said to appear “*kalt, beziehungslos und ungemütlich*” due to its façade, which is illustrated with fine straight lines. An alternative version drawn with slightly crooked lines and hints of decorative vegetation is deemed “*schön und ansprechend*” and conducive to Aryan procreation: “In einem solchen Bauernhaus kann eine Sippe aus friesischem Blut und Boden fest wurzeln.”⁵⁶⁴ The book also shows some, though not many, “bad” examples, such as dumped trash, dirty façades, or carvings on tree rinds that essentially made village scenes unphotogenic. Previously, Lindner had already published in 1936 an entire book describing the turpitude of (capitalist) advertisement, *Außenreklame. Ein Wegweiser in Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel*. Lindner specifically described “naked gable walls” that attracted advertisement and would have to be made “bearable” through some sort of botanic or painted decoration: “The hard impression [of these gable walls] was softened and livened through artful Sgraffito- and fresco work.”⁵⁶⁵ The book was prefaced with an aggressive text by Heinz Haake (*Reichsinspekteur der NSDAP, Vorsitzender des Deutschen Bundes Heimatschutz*):

Heimatschutz und Heimatpflege bedeuten Kampf: Kampf gegen Unverstand und gegen Verunglimpfung des Heimatbildes, Kampf für die Reinhaltung, Säuberung und sinnvolle Entwicklung des Lebensraumes für das deutsche Volk.... Eine Auseinandersetzung, die heutzutage der Außenreklame gwidmet ist, wäre ohne Kampfstellung gegen die Auswüchse der Außenreklame eine Halbheit.⁵⁶⁶

As in many critical texts of this period, the negative is clearly attacked (“Auswüchse”, “übersteigert”, “Plunder”), but few positive definitions are given, which is why the use of images is crucial.

Politician Franz Gutmiedel clearly laid out the organizational structure and the motives behind the beautification of the village:

Der Führer läßt die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei mit ihren Gliederungen und angeschlossenen Verbänden und die Dienststellen des Staates, in erster Linie den Reichsnährstand, dafür eintreten, daß das deutsche Landvolk nicht nur der Ernährer des deutschen Volkes, sondern auch sein Blutsquell ist und bleibt. Den vom Führer gegebenen Richtlinien entspricht es, wenn der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP und Leiter der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, Dr. Ley durch die Organisation der NS-Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude” auch dem Leben auf dem Dorfe neuen Inhalt gibt. Weil zur Neuformung

⁵⁶³ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1938), pp. 209, 217.

⁵⁶⁴ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1938), pp. 190-1.

⁵⁶⁵ Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz (ed.). *Außenreklame. Ein Wegweiser in Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel*. Text by Werner Lindner. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Metzner, 1936, n.p.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., n.p.

des Lebens auf dem Lande auch die organisatorischen Voraussetzungen geschaffen werden müssen, wurde im Jahre 1935 eine Abteilung 'Dorfverschönerung' in der NS-Gemeinschaft 'Kraft durch Freude' gebildet. Sie ist im Jahre 1937 als Abteilung 'Das schöne Dorf' in das Reichsamt 'Schönheit der Arbeit' eingegliedert worden. Das Dorf, die Heimat von Millionen Menschen, muß sauber, ordentlich und schön, weltanschaulich, sozialpolitisch, wirtschaftlich und kulturell vorbildlich sein.⁵⁶⁷

Next to the long-term goal of reeducating citizens, cleanliness and order were immediate requirements. A 1937 article in the magazine *Kraft durch Freude* titled "Was ist schön?" gave guidance through illustrations juxtaposing "good" and "bad" examples. Beneath an image of a farmhouse, the caption again suggested that the true character of its inhabitants is simply concealed: "Ein schöner, alter fränk. Bauernhof den man nur ordentlich aufzuräumen und die Wände ein wenig herzurichten bräuchte, um dem Beschauer auch das Gefühl zu geben, daß er es mit ordnungsliebenden und sauberen Bewohnern zu tun hat."⁵⁶⁸ After 1936, so-called "Dorferneuerungen" focused on the Entschandlung of German villages and residents were encouraged to aggressive and dramatic competitiveness for the most beautiful village.⁵⁶⁹ To this end, labor was solicited from the unemployed as well as the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, a service which was obligatory for men ("Arbeitsmänner") after 1935, and for women ("Arbeitsmädchen") after 1939.⁵⁷⁰

Besides keeping villages clean, anything "traditional" that had commonly been hidden under plaster or other cladding for reasons of easier maintenance, insulation, or architectural trends – framework construction, for example – was to be unearthed.⁵⁷¹ The efforts to control the look of small towns and villages were far-reaching and included front yards and the new construction of garages: in 1938, the *Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt* issued a detailed law outlining design principles regarding the harmonious "integration of garages within

⁵⁶⁷ Gutmiedl, Franz. "'Kraft durch Freude' gestaltet das schöne Dorf." In: Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1938), p. 111.

⁵⁶⁸ Groß, J. "Was ist schön?" *Kraft durch Freude. Gau Mainfranken* (October 1937), p. 7.

The theme of the issue is "Das schöne Dorf in Mainfranken."

⁵⁶⁹ "Führen bedeutet vorangehen. Nur das Dorf, dessen Führerschaft in Partei, Staat, Lehrerschaft, Frauenschaft und Hitler-Jugend mit gutem Beispiel vorangeht, das heißt, selbst im eigenen Anwesen und Arbeitsbereich Sauberkeit, Ordnung und heimatgebundene Schönheit schafft und bei den Gemeinschaftsarbeiten in vorderster Front steht, wird im edlen Wettbewerb um das schöne Dorf den verdienten Sieg davontragen."

Gutmiedl, Franz. "'Kraft durch Freude' gestaltet das schöne Dorf." In: Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1938), p. 114.

"5000 deutsche Dörfer kämpfen um die Schönheit." *Hessische Landeszeitung*, (January 19, 1938).

⁵⁷⁰ "Verschönerung der Dörfer durch Erwerbslose in Ostpreußen." *Der Angriff* (December 20, 1936).

"47000 deutsche Dörfer sollen schöner werden. Arbeitslager als Vorbild." *Der Arbeitsmann*, no. 37 (September 12, 1936).

⁵⁷¹ Scheck (1995), pp. 181-183.

their vicinity” in compliance with the new “*Garagenbaupflicht*.”⁵⁷² The extreme regulation of building codes and their enforcement was reflected in Lindner’s praise for the “pedagogical efforts” of the government, and the help of the “building police:”

Vorerst ist mit allem Ernst und mit allen Mitteln der Erziehung anzustreben, daß das zweckvoll-schöne Gestalten dem deutschen Menschen in Land und Stadt wieder zum verpflichtenden Ziel wird. Die Hilfsstellung der Baupolizei, der Baupflege und aller sonstige regelnde und ausgleichende Einfluß wird dann zwar unentbehrlich werden, aber aus einer beherrschenden Stellung mehr in den Hintergrund rücken dürfen.⁵⁷³

“Was ist schön?” – Rationalization and Style

But the public image of authentic and pure German space could not depend on the refurbishment of existing villages alone. New settlements and communal structures had to be built and had to be in keeping with professed traditionalism. Generally, scholars agree on a very general stylistic division among different functions: a monumental style was primarily used for representative buildings, a functionalist style for industrial architecture and engineering projects like factories and bridges, which used newest technologies and materials, and the conservative “Heimatschutzstil” for buildings of “social life” like houses and schools.⁵⁷⁴ Coffee table photo books mainly showed the new or planned monumental state buildings, while discussion of other buildings was relegated to books for professionals or to specific journals such as *Der Soziale Wohnungsbau in Deutschland* or *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*.⁵⁷⁵

Visual polemics against modernism preceded any officially-sanctioned National Socialist building style. The cover for Willy Straub’s 1932 book *Die Architektur im Dritten Reich*, for instance, did not feature architecture of the Third Reich but rather a collage comprised of a decorative Gründerzeit façade with a boxy modernist “addition” overlayed with the slogan “WEDER SO NOCH SO.”⁵⁷⁶ Cultural conservatives claimed to espouse a reasonable style that

⁵⁷² An illustrated brochure critiques different outlays of front yards.

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Gartenkunst (ed.). *Vorgärten so oder so?* Halle: Ewald Ebel, 1938.

“Ausführungsbestimmungen zur Verordnung über das Abstellen und Einstellen von Kraftfahrzeugen.” December 20, 1938. Bundesarchiv Berlin, Barch R4606/142.

⁵⁷³ Lindner, Werner. „Zum Geleit.” In: *Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP* (1938), n.p.

⁵⁷⁴ Petsch, Joachim. *Kunst im Dritten Reich: Architektur, Plastik, Malerei*. Cologne: Vista Point Verlag, 1983, p. 20.

⁵⁷⁵ Hoffmann (1938).

Rittich, Werner. *Architektur und Bauplastik der Gegenwart*. Berlin: Rembrandt, 1938.

Troost, Gerdy (ed.). *Das Bauen im neuen Reich*. Bayreuth: Gauverlag Bayerische Ostmark, 1939.

Schrade, Hubert. *Bauten des Dritten Reiches*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1939.

Speer, Albert. (ed.). *Neue Deutsche Baukunst*. Berlin: Volk und Reich, 1940.

⁵⁷⁶ Straub (1932)

would unify Germans. Conservative architects had been disgusted by modernist forms since their appearance in the 1920s: Schultze-Naumburg, in particular, had criticized their lack of roots or connection with the soil they were built on, a severing that resulted in the detachment of their inhabitants.⁵⁷⁷ Paul Schmitthenner had equated “internationalism” (which connotated communism and Judaism) with the “delirious” submission to the hegemony of technology in 1932.⁵⁷⁸ The term “Wohnmaschine” was frequently used, as it symbolized the negation of, or even disregard for, humanity through its lack of anthropomorphism. It had lost none of its polarizing qualities even in 1939: art historian Hubert Schrade invoked the “Wohnmaschine” as a contrast to National Socialist building programs, suggesting that modernist buildings had squashed the reproductive potential of humans: “Aber in den Verlauf der Entwicklung griff dann der sogenannte neue Stil ein, verkündete die Wohnmaschine und verdrängte aus den Wohnungen nicht nur die Gegenstände, sondern am Ende auch die Familie.”⁵⁷⁹

Officially, National Socialist ideology rejected the governing principles of rationalization and standardization, which were associated with the image and rhetoric of modernists. Particularly for the construction of new residential buildings and settlements, however, they relied on rationalization and modern technology (even though the building volume was relatively low compared to that of the Weimar Republic).⁵⁸⁰ This ambivalent relationship with technology was not reconciled by thematizing its goals or effects explicitly: “Viewing technology as the material of expression of the will to struggle rather than solely as the outcome of scientific advances enabled the Nazis to reconcile their devotion to the irrational with their love of technology.”⁵⁸¹ Paul Schultze-Naumburg had still been explicitly anti-American in 1907 when “Amerikanismus” was associated with rationalization and mechanization:

Die Idee greift heute zwar auch bei uns immer mehr um sich, dass die gesamte menschliche Tätigkeit darauf zusteure, alles in möglichst wenigen und möglichst einfachen Schablonen auszuführen. Dass ein sehr grosser Teil der Menschheit, dass besonders der Amerikaner diese Idee vertritt, lässt sich nicht

⁵⁷⁷ “Tritt man vor die heute oft so laut angepriesenen Häuser, so beschleicht einen allerdings die Vorstellung, daß sie oft irgendwo angefertigt und irgendwo durch einen Boten abgestellt wären und genau so gut auch irgendwo anders stehen könnten. Nirgends spricht etwas von der inneren Verwandtschaft mit der Erdoberfläche, dem Pflanzenwuchs, dem Himmel darüber und dem Blut bodenständiger Bewohner.” Schultze-Naumburg, (1929), p. 9.

⁵⁷⁸ “Vor Überschätzung des technischen Verstandes verlor man den gesunden menschlichen Verstand.”

Schmitthenner (1932), pp. 5-7.

⁵⁷⁹ Schrade (1939), p. 31.

⁵⁸⁰ Herf (1984).

Petsch, Joachim. *Baukunst und Stadtplanung im Dritten Reich*. Munich: Hanser, 1976, p. 11.

⁵⁸¹ Rieger, Bernhard. *Technology and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and Germany, 1890-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 41.

leugnen.⁵⁸²

By 1935, however, an article on the “Wohnkultur” of the United States in *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen* was surprisingly positive, particularly about technical standards in American single-family homes. But it did also emphasize the Americans’ lack of connection with their homes: “Hinzu kommt das Bedürfnis des Amerikaners, sich recht viel in der Öffentlichkeit zu zeigen, immer gesehen zu werden. Die behagliche Häuslichkeit im deutschen Sinne ist für ihn keine Notwendigkeit.”⁵⁸³ The proclaimed necessity for cozy domesticity was an important aspect in defining an indigenous German lifestyle, consistently promoted in verbal, written, and visual form.

Being consistent with this goal was more difficult in terms of new construction.⁵⁸⁴ The most important objective was to make sure that residential environments didn’t *look* modernist or urban:

Gerade beim Siedlungsbau aber erhebt sich die eine Gefahr, die nicht übersehen werden darf: die Möglichkeit, in ein Schema zu verfallen. Dieser Fehler ist in der Tat auch in den letzten Jahren noch vereinzelt begangen worden. Aber er ist eine Kinderkrankheit des Siedlungswesens, die schnell bekämpft worden ist. Hundert Häuser einheitlichen Typs in soldatischer Ausrichtung an einer schnurgeraden Strasse – dieser unschöne Anblick war zu augenfällig, als dass er nicht bald zu Änderungen Anlass gegeben hätte. Gewundene Strassen waren der erste Versuch, vom Schema abzukommen.⁵⁸⁵

While militaristic uniformity was the main characteristic of all official state aesthetics from architecture to design to choreography, manifesting the state’s limitless power and dynamism, the private space of citizens was to be modeled after “natural,” organically grown forms and behaviours. This distinction reinforced spatially the inequality between state and individual and the validity of authoritarian control. Control and access were also important topics

⁵⁸² Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Kulturarbeiten Vol. 5 Das Kleinbürgerhaus*. Munich: Callwey, 1907, p. 3.

⁵⁸³ “Wohnen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 15, no. 10, May 15, 1935, p. 207.

⁵⁸⁴ Tilman Harlander’s excellently researched publication *Zwischen Heimstätte und Wohnungsbau* provides a comprehensive overview over the internal political debates concerning the problem of planning and construction of housing.

Harlander, Tilman. *Zwischen Heimstätte und Wohnmaschine. Wohnungsbau und Wohnungspolitik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*. Basel/Boston/Berlin: Birkhäuser, 1995.

Also:

Fehl, Gerhard/Harlander, Tilman (eds.). *Hitlers sozialer Wohnungsbau, 1940-1945: Wohnungspolitik, Baugestaltung und Stadtplanung*. Hamburg: Christians, 1986.

Mattausch, Roswitha. *Siedlungsbau und Stadtneugründungen im deutschen Faschismus*. Frankfurt/Main: Haag und Herchen, 1981.

⁵⁸⁵ G., G. “Kultur des Siedelns und des Wohnens. Probleme um die ‘private Sphäre’ – Erziehungsarbeit des DAF.” *Berliner Tageblatt* (Nov, 10, 1938).

in discussions of individual houses. In one of the very common descriptions of a historic German rural farmhouse, architect Hans Henniger describes not only the aesthetic composition of a façade of a farm house in Niedersachsen, but also its orientation: “Die Giebelseite ist hier so recht das Gesicht des Hauses, das seine Wohnräume der Verkehrsstraße zuwendet, während die Diele mit dem großen Einfahrttor und die Stallungen dem Blick Fremder entzogen ... sind.”⁵⁸⁶ Here the motif of the German house’s face served the dual functions of emphasizing German openness and modesty and describing the relinquishment of private space.

House façades were also to conform to the cult around real or imitated “tradition,” and new construction often imitated historical façades. Several historians have pointed out that modernist standardized building processes and materials were hidden by regionalist façades.⁵⁸⁷ It seems, however, that this practice was no secret. In one of many articles concerning newly constructed housing in the journal *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen* the head of the Gauheimstättenamt, Wilhelm Avieny explicitly describes how the standardized housing subdivisions of the suburban Heimstättensiedlung Frankfurt am Main by architect Paul Wolff (1935) were “enhanced” with framework elements on façades.⁵⁸⁸ The Bund Heimatschutz had commissioned several publications for professionals that promoted traditional building techniques. Their agenda was often to promote these building techniques as the most cost-effective and simple techniques for the construction of new housing developments. Werner Lindner’s *Altbewährte heimatliche Bauweisen* is a small booklet which features short essays by engineers on techniques such as clay construction or roof thatching, as well as a report on the erection of workers’ housing in

⁵⁸⁶ Henniger, Hans. “Das Altländer Bauernhaus.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 15, no. 23, December 1, 1935, p. 471.

Also:

Henniger, Hans. “Das ostpreussische Bauernhaus.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 16, no. 7, April 1, 1936, pp. 137-140.

⁵⁸⁷ Nerdinger, Winfried. *Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus. Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung*. Munich: Prestel, 1993.

Fehl, Gerhard. „Die Moderne unterm Hakenkreuz. Ein Versuch, die Rolle funktionalistischer Architektur im Dritten Reich zu klären.“ In: Frank, Hartmut (ed.). *Faschistische Architekturen. Planen und Bauen in Europa 1930-1945*. Hamburg: Christians, 1985, pp. 88-122.

⁵⁸⁸ “Ein weiterer Schritt im Kampf gegen den Schematismus war die gelegentliche Verwendung von Fachwerkgiebeln, Besonders an markanten Punkten der Siedlung.”
Avieny, W. „Das Rhein-Mainische Siedlungswerk. Erfahrungen und Folgerungen aus fünfjähriger Arbeit im Arbeiterwohnstättenbau.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 18, no. 17 (September 1, 1938), p. 524.
Burger, Herbert. “Neue Siedlungen in Mainfranken.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 19, no. 8 (April 16, 1939), pp. 390-402.

Also:

“Man bediente sich ferner der Möglichkeit, das Strassenbild durch Giebel oder vereinzelt eingestreute Fachwerkhäuser zu beleben.”

Jacob, Johannes. “Reichstypen für den Wohnungsbau.” *Baugilde* 23 (1941), pp. 235-239.

Spiegel, Hans. “Typung und Normung.” (1941) In: Teut (1967), pp. 268-270.

Pomerania and detailed reports by doctors on the hygienic qualities of clay buildings.⁵⁸⁹ Still, such techniques were not practical for cheap industrialized construction based on prefabricated and standardized building parts.⁵⁹⁰ But architects were searching for lively alternatives to stone buildings, which architect Hans Stolper described as “impersonal.” “Wo die Ausdruckssucht persönlicher Liebhabereien nicht ins Chaotische ausschweift, hat das Wohnhaus unserer Zeit über alle Landschaften gleichmäßig hinweg die stumpfe und unpersönliche Physiognomie angenommen: aussen und innen verputzter Massivbau.”⁵⁹¹ Empty, blank façades were seen as lacking a clearly identifiable face and were described as “hard,” “embarrassing,” and “dead.”⁵⁹² If at all possible, their wooden construction was to be uncovered, attesting to their solid structure. An article in the 1937 issue of the journal *Kraft durch Freude* lauding the general beautification of a village features a photograph of framework house with the caption “nice farmer’s house with the typical character of small-town coziness” juxtaposed alongside a photo of brick houses described as “unpretty, cold, and vacuous.”⁵⁹³

Wooden framework construction seemed like an ideal folksy aesthetic and was propagated by several architects and historians. Architect Heinrich Walbe praised its authenticity: “Keine Bauweise ist wahrhafter als der Holzbau.”⁵⁹⁴ In addition, framework houses came to be associated with rural life and medieval town centers.⁵⁹⁵ The myth of the Middle Ages came to be seen as a forgotten model for the German nation. Reconnecting with this great past was proposed by the influential cultural critic Alfred Rosenberg:

Nur wenige Menschen stehen andachtsvoll vor den Zeugen eines großen Geistes, des Geistes des [...] in vielen Dingen doch echt germanischen ‘Mittelalters’. Wenn wieder ein großer echter Glaube in unsere Herzen

⁵⁸⁹ Lindner, Werner (ed.). *Altbewährte heimatliche Bauweise. Im Auftrage des Deutschen Bundes Heimatschutz und der Vereinigung für Deutsche Siedlung und Wanderung*. Berlin: Deutsche Landbuchhandlung, 1919.

Also by Lindner, a historical, regional overview of the farm house:

Lindner, Werner. *Das niedersächsische Bauernhaus in Deutschland und Holland*. Hannover: Verlagsbuchhandlung Ernst Seibel, 1912.

⁵⁹⁰ After the war, in 1947, architect Hugo Häring accused Ernst Neufert of building “Wohnmaschinen” for the Nazis.

Häring, Hugo. „Neues Bauen.“ *Bauen und Wohnen*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1947), p. 31.

⁵⁹¹ Stolper’s book includes many photos with examples of materials and houses, many from Scandinavia. Stolper, Hans (ed.). *Bauen in Holz. Blockbau, Fachwerk, Plattenbau und Hallenbau*. Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann Verlag, 1933, p. 7.

⁵⁹² “Gute Füllung einer peinlichen, sonst tot wirkenden Brandgiebelfläche [...]”

Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz (ed.). *Außenreklame. Ein Wegweiser in Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel*. Text by Werner Lindner. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Metzner, 1936, fig. 230.

⁵⁹³ Groß (1937), p. 7.

⁵⁹⁴ Walbe, Heinrich. *Das hessisch-fränkische Fachwerk*. Darmstadt: L.C. Wittich Verlag, 1942, p. 11.

⁵⁹⁵ Anheisser, Roland. *Das mittelalterliche Wohnhaus in deutschstämmigen Landen*. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1935.

einziehen sollte, dann wird auch in neuer Form die 'gotische Seele' wieder erwachen.⁵⁹⁶

Medieval framework houses came to signify several characteristics and historical aspects that were deemed "authentically German," even if interest in the Middle Ages was left over from the early Weimar Republic: Expressionist artists specifically used techniques like woodcutting, and the Bauhaus founders associated themselves with the model of the medieval *Bauhütte*.⁵⁹⁷ Modernist architecture was, however, associated with modern materials: "Das beste Stahlskelett ist nicht sachlicher, als ein guter Fachwerkbau des Mittelalters, aber unsachlich ist es Kleinhäuser in Stahl zu bauen."⁵⁹⁸ Of all preservation projects, those concerning framework buildings were supported most committedly by the Nazis.⁵⁹⁹ Preservationists like Werner Lindner warned against the use of fake framework, but once framework construction had come to signify the values of Volkstum, its look was frequently used (fig. 3.14).⁶⁰⁰ A 1937 report in the journal *Baumeister*, "Grundlagen neuer deutscher Bauernkultur," shows newly constructed "farmhouses" that all feature a framework façade, suggesting that such surroundings were conducive to a new rural lifestyle by mimicking an old aesthetic.⁶⁰¹ According to the author, the new constructions helped restore the cultural values of the rural population, who had been conned by Jews into relinquishing their cultural objects (and, by extension, their architectural culture and values): "[Die Bauern] ließen sich ihr altes Kulturgut für ein paar Groschen von jüdischen Händlern abschachern."⁶⁰² Among the new buildings constructed during the Third Reich, many featured either actual wood construction or else façades imitating wood construction. This style was particularly common in the design settlements, as well as buildings commissioned by the Deutsche Arbeitsfront such as educational facilities (Erwitte, Horst-Wessel-Halle), Hitler Jugend-homes, and youth hostels (e.g. *Hellenthal* by Theodor Veil, 1938). A report on the newly built agricultural school in Gransee ("*Bauernschule Gransee*") was built by the so-called Bauhütte

⁵⁹⁶ Rosenberg, p. 357.

⁵⁹⁷ Brückle, Wolfgang. "Wege zum Volksgesicht. Imagebildung für das Kollektiv im fotografischen Nachexpressionismus." In: Köstler/Seidl (1998), pp. 293-6.

Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Die Moderne und ihr Mittelalter. Eine folgenreiche Problemgeschichte." In: Segl, Peter (ed.). *Mittelalter und Moderne. Entdeckung und Rekonstruktion der mittelalterlichen Welt*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997, pp. 307-364.

Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Das Mittelalter und das Unbehagen an der Moderne. Mittelalterbeschwörungen in der Weimarer Republik und danach." In: Oexle, Otto Gerhard. *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus*. Göttingen 1996, pp. 137-162.

⁵⁹⁸ Schmitthenner (1932), p. 12

⁵⁹⁹ Kiesow (1982), p. 25.

⁶⁰⁰ Lindner, Werner. "Eine vorbildliche Ortssatzung über Baugestaltung." *Baugilde* 23 (1941), p. 559.

⁶⁰¹ Riedrich, Otto. "Grundlagen neuer deutscher Bauernkultur." *Baumeister*, vol. 35, no. 8 (August 1937), pp. 264-268.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

Berlin in 1935. The large four-story building featured a framework façade, which was praised: “Das Fachwerk gibt dem Bau den Charakter einer Stätte, welche dem deutschen Heimatboden entspricht.”⁶⁰³

Framework (structural and plainly cosmetic) was also used widely in the so-called “Lehrsiedlung Mascherode” by Braunschweig, which was cited as an ideal town model by Lindner and Böckler even though it was illustrated with a hardly legible rudimentary model showing only a basic layout with a few types of standardized houses.⁶⁰⁴ Mascherode, designed by the Deutsche Arbeitsfront architectural offices under Julius Schulte-Frohlinde, was conceived as a model town for six thousand inhabitants and was built between 1936 and 1939 (fig. 3.15). (Some additions were made until 1943, when construction was discontinued because of the war.)⁶⁰⁵ Architectural journals such as *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen* featured several extensive illustrated reports on Braunschweig Mascherode.⁶⁰⁶

Effects, not substance or rigorous planning, had been the aim of National Socialist architecture.⁶⁰⁷ Angela Schönberger succinctly described how stories about the architectural process were used as propaganda, independent of the actual process of planning and building. The planning process of the Neue Reichskanzlei in particular, which was inaugurated in January 1939, had begun in 1934. However, the story that Speer had only nine months to plan and build the Reichskanzlei was widely spread by the Nazis in order to

demonstrate the high organizational and technological efficiency of the planners, and by extension the political energy and power of the Third Reich.... The suggested notion of the suprahuman dynamism is described as the achievement of individuals and to this day serves the illumination of the system with which the

⁶⁰³ The school was furnished with new furniture in a rural style.

“Bauen und Schaffen sei unser Ziel—Gemeinsames Streben vermag sehr viel. Die neue kurmärkische Bauernschule Gransee.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 15, no. 12 (June 15, 1935), p. 260.

⁶⁰⁴ Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (1939), p. 65.

Technically perfect photos of the newly finished Mascherode development are presented in: Wächtler, Fritz (ed.). *Die neue Heimat. Vom Werden der nationalsozialistischen Kulturlandschaft*. Munich: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1940.

⁶⁰⁵ Mittmann (2003).

⁶⁰⁶ Rogler, Rudolf. “Die Gemeinschaftssiedlung Mascherode bei Braunschweig.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 18 (1937), pp. 66-70.

Cohrs, Wilhelm. “Gemeinschaftssiedlung Mascherode. Eine Mustersiedlung der Deutschen Arbeitsfront entsteht.” *Arbeitertum*, vol. 7 (1937-38), pp. 10-12.

Müser, Joseph. “Gemeinschaftshaus Mascherode.” *Schönheit der Arbeit*, vol. 3 (1938), pp. 196-205.

Brandt, Fritz. “Lehrsiedlung Braunschweig-Mascherode.” *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen*, vol. 19 (1939), pp. 440-468.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. Bartetzko, Dieter. “Obsessionen aus Stein. Die Architekten des Dritten Reichs.” In: Sarkowicz, Hans (ed.). *Hitlers Künstler. Die Kultur im Dienst des Nationalsozialismus*. Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig: Insel, 2004, pp. 110-134.

reality of fascism is concealed.⁶⁰⁸

In fact, the building could only be built so fast through the use of forced labor, and a highly dangerous and strenuous work situation resulted. Some workers died.⁶⁰⁹ Accordingly, talk of newly planned settlements in an imagined rural style far exceeded the actual number of towns being built. And while the new construction of Nazi architectural monuments was very important starting in 1933, it floundered after the beginning of the war, when new construction subsided.⁶¹⁰ By the end of the war, culture for which architecture was deemed crucial was not to be reported on in order to avoid suggesting that there was a “*sattes Friedensmilieu*” in which cultural events and projects were appropriate.⁶¹¹ The focus on “history” and myth had been a useful but now obsolete strategy to hide the highly technologized war machinery.⁶¹²

In 1941, Albert Speer was making plans for better times. Before he became responsible for armament, ammunition, and infrastructure in 1942, one of his plans for the period after the war was to change the course of architectural journals: “Dem Führer habe ich bei einer gründlichen Betrachtung des neuen Heftes der ‘Baukunst’ in ‘Kunst im Deutschen Reich’ von den Plänen der Aufmachung nach dem Krieg: Baukunst nach vorn, wesentlich stärker, Plastik und Malerei in zweiter Linie – Kenntnis gegeben. Der Führer fand diese Anordnung als die einzig richtige.”⁶¹³ But soon the war had become the driving factor for the production of images. Once Allied bombings on Germany began, the destruction of architectural monuments by the enemy was explicitly documented and highlighted in the media through Nazi propaganda.⁶¹⁴ In addition, Hitler ordered a large-scale project to document cultural monuments on April 9, 1943. The urgent

⁶⁰⁸ Schönberger, Angela. „Die Neue Reichskanzlei in Berlin von Albert Speer.“ In: Hinz/Mittig/Schäche, Wolfgang/Schönberger (1979), p. 164.

The Bundesarchiv holds a script for a children’s film that uses this myth as a basis for a plot about Speer. Schönberger alludes to the fact that all Germans were involved in fascism.

⁶⁰⁹ The 1939 movie “Das Wort aus Stein: Die Bauten Adolf Hitlers” showed the interior of the Reichskanzlei since it was the only Hitler building done at this time, and only the facades of models of all other buildings. Schönberger, Angela. Die Neue Reichskanzlei in Berlin von Albert Speer. In: Hinz/Mittig/Schäche, Wolfgang/Schönberger (1979).

⁶¹⁰ Thomae (1978), p. 33.

⁶¹¹ Orders from the Kultur-Pressekonferenz, August 11th, 1944.

⁶¹² Fleischner (1999), p. 11.

⁶¹³ Aktennotiz Speer Feb 12, 1941, Barch R4606/564, Bundesarchiv Berlin.

After the death of Fritz Todt, Speer assumed several new positions. In 1942 he was named *Reichsminister for Bewaffnung und Munition* and *Generalinspektor für das deutsche Straßenwesen, Festungsbau, Wasser und Energie*. In 1943, he was named *Reichsminister für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion*.

⁶¹⁴ When buildings in the city of Lübeck were destroyed by the RAF in 1942, Goebbels had art historians come to view and document the damage and explicitly ordered the “strong Herausstellung of the bombardement of cultural monuments as it has happened in Lübeck in the German Press.”

Boelcke, Willi. ‘*Wollt Ihr den totalen Krieg.*’ *Die geheimen Goebbels-Konferenzen 1939-1943*. Stuttgart: DVA, 1967, p. 225.

order called for all ceiling and wall paintings in most of Germany to be color photographed “in order of their importance.”⁶¹⁵ Another project, the “*Luftbildarchiv deutscher Innenstädte*,” resulted in 3,235 color negatives showing aerial views of German cities dating from 1942 to 1944.⁶¹⁶ The photographs were commissioned by Albert Speer with the intention to use them in the reconstruction of German cities after the war.

When plans for the afterwar period had become obsolete, it was the cultivated German landscape to which photographers still clung. Renger-Patzsch’s first book after the war, entitled *Beständige Welt* (“Consistent World”), was published in 1947. In his foreword, he speaks of the landscape’s reliability (implying the mutability of humans). The images are delicate, almost picturesque landscape photographs with a text by Helene Henze: “Verlässlich sind Straße, Dach und Deich, Acker und Weinberg. Es ist eine heile Welt, die uns in dieser Landschaft aufnimmt, ihr Anblick allein strömt heilsame Kräfte aus. Wohl ist sie auch verwundbar, wir haben es furchtbar erfahren.”⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁵ Letter from Fritz Hiecke to the state conservator, dated April 9, 1943. Printed in: Fuhrmeister, Christian et al., *Führerauftrag Monumentalmalerei. Eine Fotokampagne 1943-1945*. Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2006, p. 244.

It was planned to photograph the paintings in 500 to 800 monuments with 50-100 photographs. The 40.000 slides have been housed at the Munich Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte since 1956.

⁶¹⁶ Bracht, Christian. „Das Marburger Luftbildarchiv deutscher Innenstädte“. In: Fuhrmeister (2006), pp. 163-172.

⁶¹⁷ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Beständige Welt. Kleines Landschaftsbuch*. Münster: Quell Verlag, 1947.

During the 1960s, Renger-Patzsch publishes books with the deadpan titles *Bäume* and *Gestein* that both feature texts by Ernst Jünger conjure up images of doom.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Bäume*. Ingelheim: C.H. Boehringer Sohn, 1962.

Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Gestein*. Ingelheim: C.H. Boehringer Sohn, 1966.

CHAPTER FOUR: STANDARDIZATION

ANTI-GEMÜTLICHKEIT: HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHS 1958-1997

In 1958, German artist Bernd Becher (1931-2007) embarked on a long and intimate quest to create what he called a “*Stimmungsbarometer über Klänge in Deutschland*” by photographing houses.⁶¹⁸ The photographs were taken between 1958 and 1997 on trips he made alone by motorcycle, according to Becher.⁶¹⁹ An edited collection of 100 architectural photographs that Becher had been preparing remained unpublished at Becher’s death in 2007.⁶²⁰ The artist’s approach to, and motivation for, these photographs of houses remained the same over the forty years of his project and reflect his early desire to come to terms with modernization which many cultural progressives had become disillusioned with. Still, Becher chose to thematize motifs, which, for him epitomized modernization: late nineteenth century prefabricated houses. His aims are evident even in his first, largest series of house photographs showing the framework houses of the Sieg Valley. Becher began taking the house photographs in 1958, at a time when most formal possibilities of architectural photography had already been exhausted and the history of architectural photography in Germany seemed fraught with ideological contradictions and manipulations. Bernd Becher’s images of houses are an attempt at emulating the experience of space. They are the results of an intense desire to translate and communicate the experience of an actual space at a certain point in time into transgressive images. Becher made the photographs of houses “so that you can still see those times.”⁶²¹ What is shown is not the architecture’s own temporality, but rather the time of the built space’s perception.

Bernd Becher began photographing industrial structures of his native Sieg Valley in 1957.⁶²² His first black-and-white photograph shows a mining plant, the Eisenhardter Grube,

⁶¹⁸ Author’s interview with the artist at his home in Düsseldorf, May 3rd, 2006.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ The author has a binder with a numbered collection of prints by Bernd Becher.

⁶²¹ Author’s interview with the artist at his home in Düsseldorf, May 3rd, 2006.

⁶²² For a detailed and recent account of Bernd and Hilla Becher’s work and life see: Zweite, Achim. “Bernd und Hilla Bechers ‘Vorschlag für euine Sehweise’. 10 Stichworte.” In: Becher, Bernd & Hilla. *Typologien*. Exh. Cat. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2003, pp. 13-42. Lange, Susanne. *Die IndustriephotoGRAPHIE von Bernd und Hilla Becher: Eine monographische Untersuchung vor dem Hintergrund entwicklungshistorischer Zusammenhänge*. Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung eines Doktors der Philosophie im Fachbereich Klassische Philologie und Kunstwissenschaften der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 1999. Lange, Susanne. *Was wir tun, ist letztlich Geschichten erzählen... Bernd und Hilla Becher - Einführung in Leben und Werk*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2005.

constructed mainly in the mid-nineteenth century. The plant consists of a crane, a finishing facility, an elevator, and a silo. All façades of the almost chaotically stacked building parts are framework constructions with black beams and white infill.⁶²³ Becher claimed not to have been interested in the medium of photography when he began picturing his native region. He had apprenticed as a sign painter in his father's company during the late 1940s, and then began studying illustration at the Stuttgart State Academy of Fine Arts under illustrator Karl Rössing. In 1955 he had tried drawing the Sieg Valley industrial sites and intended to use the drawings as templates for paintings.⁶²⁴ He was only forced to take photographs, he said, because the plants were demolished faster than he could finish drawing them. Moreover, he planned to use the photographs to make collages by cutting around the outlines of the buildings and gluing the cutout façades to another sheet, a plan only thwarted by his discovery of Paul Citroen's collages. These came to his attention at a Dada exhibition in 1958 at the Kunsthalle in Düsseldorf where he had begun to study typography in 1958.⁶²⁵ It was in Düsseldorf in 1957 where he met a fellow student who would be his future wife and collaborator, Hilla Wobeser (born 1934). Wobeser had grown up in Potsdam in East Germany, where she had apprenticed with a professional landscape and architecture photographer in the early 1950s. The couple married in 1961 and gained fame in the 1980s for their collaborative photographic renditions of industrial structures in West Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the USA, which they took each summer while traveling these industrial regions with their equipment-laden VW bus.

Bernd Becher's house photographs depict historical objects, but they are produced and distributed from a postwar vantage point on historical architecture and architectural photography. In order to understand how charged the discourse was between Becher's initial conception of architecture photography around 1956 and the time of the series' publication of the series, it is essential to elucidate the political and visual climate between those years.

⁶²³ Honnef, Klaus (ed.). *Bernd und Hilla Becher: Fotografien 1957 bis 1975*. Exh. Cat. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1975, pp. 30-31.

⁶²⁴ Dobbe (2001), p. 24.

⁶²⁵ Ruhrberg, Karl. "Anonymität als Stilprinzip." In: *Anonyme Skulpturen. Formvergleiche industrieller Bauten. Fotos von Bernhard und Hilla Becher*. Exh. Cat. Düsseldorf: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1969, p. 4. Dobbe (2001), pp. 22, 25. Lange (2005).

Choosing a Past: European Preservation Year 1975

Industrial culture was “discovered” and named at the same time that medieval framework houses were “restored.” Historic preservation became a very important topic, especially between 1965 and 1975.⁶²⁶ One motivation for the establishment of academic discourse on industrial archeology in the 1960s and 1970s was an interest in the social structures associated with industrial production. Hermann Glaser, then cultural attaché of the city of Nuremberg and author of several important books on postwar German cultural history, later head of the Deutscher Werkbund from 1985 to 1996, even described the exploration of industrial culture as important to “democratic identity.” Glaser described the process of “experiencing modernity” through historical analysis as enlightening for a democratic society, since it would help to develop “realistic” expectations of one’s own time. More precisely, it was industrial culture itself, not rural culture, that he deemed essential for a “democratic identity”:

Wenn Geschichte aktiviertes Gedächtnis, eingeholte Vergangenheit ist, wenn Geschichte betreiben heißt, eine Sache aus ihren Voraussetzungen heraus und in ihren Folgen zu verstehen, als Chance, aus Vergangenem das Gegenwärtige zu begreifen und das Künftige zu vermuten, dann kann man in besonderem Maße die Beschäftigung mit Industriekultur demokratischer Identität dienen.⁶²⁷

Interest in historical preservation had grown, partly due to the sense of loss associated not only with war damage but with the demolition of old buildings and erection of new buildings. The consensus among art historians in the 1950s was that preservation had become unimportant

⁶²⁶ A 1975 bibliography compiled by the Institut für Wohnungs- und Planungswesen in Cologne lists hundreds of books, articles, and legal orders during this period.

Institut für Wohnungs- und Planungswesen (ed.). *Denkmalschutz im Städtebau. Eine Literaturdokumentation 1965-1975*. Cologne: Institut für Wohnungs- und Planungswesen, 1975.

Preservation’s previous heyday had been in the early 20th century when the five volumes of Georg Dehio’s (1850-1932) *Handbuch der Kunstdenkmäler* were published between 1905 and 1912. Nationalist preservationists such as Dehio had argued for such an inventory since the 1880s, but it was only realized after Kaiser Wilhelm II himself approved funding for the publication of a systematic inventory that should appear as a unifying collection of Germany’s historical national monuments.

Dehio’s agenda had been clearly nationalistic: „Mein wahrer Held ist das deutsche Volk. Ich gebe deutsche Geschichte im Spiegel der Kunst, in diesem Selbstbekenntnis des deutschen Innenlebens, das über bestimmte Seiten desselben mehr und deutlicher auszusagen hat als irgendeine andere Quelle.“

Foreword of Dehio, Georg. *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst. Vol. 1*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1919, n.p. Speitkamp (1996), pp. 159-161.

Plagemann, Volker. „Georg Dehios ‚Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler.‘” In: Mai/Waetzoldt (1981), pp. 417-429.

The much less-known and less-connected art historian Max Dvorak (1874-1921), by contrast, rejected the nationalist focus on monuments but called for a preservation of “the environments that led to the historical significance of a monument.”

Dvorak, Max. *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*. Vienna: J. Bard, 1918, p. 27.

⁶²⁷ Glaser, Hermann. *Maschinenwelt und Alltagsleben. Industriekultur in Deutschland vom Biedermeier bis zur Weimarer Republik*. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1981, p. 7.

compared to its significance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶²⁸ Still, 1975 was declared the *European Architectural Heritage Year*, an international event that was strongly supported by the German government and promoted heavily through a massive PR-campaign that made the project known to sixty percent of the German public.⁶²⁹ The official motto of the event was *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit*.⁶³⁰ Preservationist Michael Petzet's article in the exhibition catalogue criticizes the reincarnation of modernist architecture after 1945 as "pollution":

Bauen als Umweltzerstörung... Und es ist angesichts einer in der Masse doch deprimierenden und an Eintönigkeit kaum zu überbietenden Bauproduktion das Bewußtsein einer unerträglichen Uniformierung, zu der das über alle politischen Grenzen und Gesellschaftssysteme hinweg längst zu einem internationalen Stil gewordene 'Neue Bauen' geführt hat... 'Reproduzierbares Bauen' kommt gewissermassen vom Fließband und bedarf unter Umständen weder des Architekten noch des Handwerkers im alten Sinn.⁶³¹

Juxtapositions of photographs were an integral part of preservationists' argumentative strategy. The catalogue shows many suggestive black-and-white images, modeled on the images from Wolf Jobst Siedler's 1964 *Die gemordete Stadt*, among them one of a newly constructed large-scale Berlin housing development juxtaposed with a black-and-white image of framework houses with a church in the background by Siegen.⁶³² The caption of the photographs ("*Zweimal Planung (1666 und 1966): Handwerkliches Bauen und industrielle Produktion – menschengerecht oder maschinengerecht?*") notes only the locations of the sites, as it apparently didn't seem necessary

⁶²⁸ Kiesow (1982), p. 14.

Also by Kiesow:

Kiesow, Gottfried. "Europäisches Denkmalschutzjahr 1975. Versuch einer Bilanz für Hessen." In: Greverus, Ina-Maria (ed.). *Hessische Blätter für Volks- und Kulturforschung. Denkmalräume–Lebensräume*. Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag, 1976, pp. 247-262.

The most concise and comprehensive discussion of the history of preservation to date is by Winfried Speitkamp.

Speitkamp (1996).

Also:

Mai/Waetzoldt (1981).

Kiesow (1982).

Choay, Françoise. *L'Allégorie du Patrimoine*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992.

Lipp, Wilfried/Petzet, Michael (eds.). *Vom modernen zum postmodernen Denkmalkultus? Denkmalpflege am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Bayerisches Amt für Denkmalpflege, 1994.

⁶²⁹ Kiesow (1982), p. 36.

⁶³⁰ According to Jane Fawcett, the term "The Future of the Past" was first used by Osbert Lancaster in 1953. Fawcett, Jane. Introduction. In: Fawcett, Jane (ed.). *The Future of the Past. Attitudes to Conservation 1174-1974*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976, p. 7.

⁶³¹ Petzet, Michael. "Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit? – Denkmalpflege im Denkmalschutzjahr 1975." In: Landschaftsverband Rheinland (ed.). *Europäisches Denkmalschutzjahr 1975. Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Munich: Prestel, 1975, p. 8.

⁶³² Ibid., pp. 28-29.

to add qualitative comments in order to evoke the obvious conclusion to this visual comparison: the large-scale contemporary development lacks the cohesiveness and traditionalism of the old development, and is hence inferior. Another juxtaposition shows two window openings from a decorated nineteenth-century façade with a woman in a large hat looking out, against a photo of a 1950s building façade (evidence of the new appreciation of nineteenth-century architecture).⁶³³ Only three of the balconies are fully visible; the other nine balconies are truncated in order to emphasize their purportedly repetitive, monotonous configuration. The first photograph is entitled “A House with a Face”; the other, “A House with Balconies,” even though figures are visible on both photographs.⁶³⁴ Petzet also laments and depicts the “systematic destruction of the image of a village with public funds” as well as the prevalence of “faceless uniform developments.”⁶³⁵

In his extensive publication *Die Zukunft der Vergangenheit. Grundsätze, Problem und Möglichkeiten der Denkmalpflege* (1975), Friedrich Mielke cites the reconstruction of Polish cities as an example of reconstruction’s serving as a foil for identification for the Polish people, who had suffered greatly from the effects of World War II. The reconstructions, he wrote, conflated the past with an always-passing present, which served to enable progress.⁶³⁶ Mielke rejected the critique of preservation as nostalgic, instead insisting on the importance of a “home” in the increasingly anonymous cities.⁶³⁷ Mielke proceeded to visualize the complexity of the preservation of buildings through a simple model interconnecting dots that represent different factors (such as the acclaim of an architect) to demonstrate their interdependency. In addition, Mielke provides a “formula” to determine the level of monument quality (M) of a building: “ $M = \sum O + \sum T + Q$ ” (originality, time, and quality).⁶³⁸ Mielke expanded the notion of “quality” to buildings with special assets such as rarity, but he did not explicitly mention emancipatory motives relating to socio-historical and political relevance, even though he cites several articles of the very broadly formulated *Charta Veneziana*, the resolution passed at the second International Congress of Architects and Technicians for Historical Monuments in Venice in 1964, which aimed to expand the reach of monument protection.⁶³⁹ The 1975 official statement of *European*

⁶³³ For many older art historians like Hans Sedlmayr nineteenth century architecture had remained “Stilchaos.”

Sedlmayr, Hans. *Verlust der Mitte. Die bildende Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Salzburg: Müller, 1948, p. 61.

⁶³⁴ Petzet (1975), pp. 8-9.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., pp. 61-2, 109.

⁶³⁶ Mielke, Friedrich. *Die Zukunft der Vergangenheit. Grundsätze, Problem und Möglichkeiten der Denkmalpflege*. Stuttgart: DVA, 1975, p. 15.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., p. 161.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., pp. 25-32.

⁶³⁹ The resolution was first published in Germany in 1965.

Architectural Heritage Year by the Council of Europe and ICOMOS later specifically addressed the need to preserve not just acknowledged architectural monuments, but “lesser buildings” as well. The “lesser buildings” that had come to be considered, were not, however, industrial manufacturing structures. After World War II, because of the massive destruction of housing and more prominent cultural monuments, there was little interest in technical monuments. Consequently, there was hardly any interest in technical monuments during the 1950s and 60s.⁶⁴⁰ Instead, residential buildings came to the fore of professional and popular interest. As Winfried Speitkamp points out, the emancipatory movements of the late 1960s are the origin of a “sociopolitical interpretation of preservation” and mark the shift of focus from tradition and formalist architectural qualities to a value-analysis based on the context and use of older buildings.⁶⁴¹ In particular, Speitkamp cites Janne and Roland Günter’s definition of architectural preservation as “Sozialschutz.”⁶⁴² Several architectural critics and urban planners henceforth integrated discussions of preservation in discussions about the development of public spaces.⁶⁴³ In the case of the Frankfurt Westend, this led to the odd merging of interests between preservationists, whose agenda had traditionally been perceived as conservative, and young squatters, who opposed the development of nineteenth-century residential buildings into commercial space during the 1970s.⁶⁴⁴ At the same time, interest in entire architectural environments grew, and images of Siegerland towns with their relative abundance of framework houses were floated in popular publications promoting preservation.⁶⁴⁵ To most readers, an image of a group of framework houses titled “Freudenberg im Siegerland” would denote an idyllic, nostalgic scene associated with an imagined pre-industrial past more so than prefabricated housing and industrial development (fig. 4.1).

Until recently, the nineteenth-century Sieg Valley framework houses in Bernd Becher’s photographs were not considered important architectural monuments and were excluded from

db – Deutsche Bauzeitung, no. 12 (1965), pp. 1039-1040.

⁶⁴⁰ The VDI still had a “Arbeitsgruppe für technische Denkmale” and tried to produce an inventory of all technical monuments in the FRG in 1965, but the project was cancelled due to staff shortage. The first postwar journals to focus on industrial monuments were the VDI’s quarterly journal *Technikgeschichte* published after 1965 and *Technische Kulturdenkmale* by the Förderverein Hagener Freilichtmuseum which was first published in 1966.

Kierdorf/Hassler (2000), pp. 51, 56, 118.

⁶⁴¹ Speitkamp (1996), p. 12.

⁶⁴² Günter, Janne und Roland. “Architekturelemente und Verhaltenweisen der Bewohner. Denkmalschutz als Sozialschutz.” In: Greverus (1976), pp. 7-56.

⁶⁴³ Cf. Speitkamp (1996), pp. 12-13.

⁶⁴⁴ The conflict thematized by Rainer Werner Fassbinder in his 1975 play *Die Stadt, der Müll und der Tod*. See above.

⁶⁴⁵ Petzet (1975), p. 106.

standard works by architectural historians such as Hermann Phleps' *Deutsche Fachwerkbauten*, first published in 1951 by Langwiesche in the Blaue Bücher series.⁶⁴⁶ Phleps' book contains an extraordinarily dramatic text about wood construction that reveals the problematic reactionary esotericism and antiurbanism potentially associated with preservationists' agendas:

Woher rührt das Anheimelnde des Fachwerkhauses? Das Geheimnis liegt im Wesen des Holzes begründet. Schon zu seiner Wiege, dem Walde, fühlen wir uns wie von geheimnisvollen Kräften hingezogen. Hier lagen die Heiligtümer unserer Vorfahren. Sie erhoben den Baum zu ihrem Kultzeichen. Vom Walde wurden unsere Märchen und Lieder befruchtet.... Wie reich ist unsere Zwiesprache mit dem Baum selbst. Vom Stamm aus streben seien Äste und Zweige der Sonne entgegen, gleich unserem Herzen, wenn sie den Weg nach oben suchen. Wird dem Baum das Harz entzogen, beginnt er zu siechen wie der Mensch bei starkem Aderlaß. Schauer packt uns, wenn der gefällte Baum auf den Boden aufschlägt. Mit seinen Waldkameraden als Floß zusammengestellt, beginnt er seinen Dienst am Menschen.

Und was sagen uns heute unsere Fachwerkhäuser? Wie arm wären wir, wenn wir uns nicht mehr des einladenden Blickes erfreuen dürften, das uns die Fachwerkgiebel unserer Dörfer bieten. Wer einmal einen Weihnachtsmarkt oder ein anderes festliches Treiben inmitten von Fachwerkhäusern erlebte, wird zwischen den Steinarchitekturen einer Großstadt von dem Gefühl der Vereinsamung angehaucht werden.⁶⁴⁷

Such language would be hard to use in connection with the late nineteenth-century framework houses, the wood for which was hewn from commercial logging areas. Prominent local historian Hans Kruse had begun to rehabilitate local vernacular architectural materials, acknowledging that there was no such thing as a "typically" regional material. He conceded that building materials could *become* local due to economic circumstances. Before World War I, for instance, preservationists, who had strictly opposed the widespread use of cheap tin for roofs and cladding of buildings, realized that the production of tin had become a main industry of the poor region and hence conceded: "Angesichts dieser Lage konnte der Siegener Heimatschutzverein es nicht verantworten, den Kampf gegen das Blechdach in der alten Weise wieder aufzunehmen."⁶⁴⁸ The Sieg Valley framework houses however remained uncovered in standard publications about framework houses. Even eminent local historian Hans Kruse described old local architectural monuments such as forts, castles or churches in particular as a repository for "Volkstum" in the

⁶⁴⁶ Phleps, Hermann. *Deutsche Fachwerkbauten*. Königstein: Karl Robert Langwiesche, 1951. Phleps' book is reedited several times in various forms, in 1967 and in 1976 in connection with the European Preservation Year.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁴⁸ Kruse, Hans. "Heimatschutz und Stahlblechdach." *Blätter des Vereins für Heimatkunde*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1930), p. 48.

absence of customs.⁶⁴⁹ In *Das hessisch-fränkische Fachwerk* by Heinrich Walbe, Walbe expresses the disdainful attitude toward the nineteenth century typical for postwar architectural history: “Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert bringt den größten Umschwung, bringt den Niedergang. Das Handwerk, dem Maschinenbetrieb anheimfallend, gibt alle Phantasie und eigene Schöpferkraft auf, sucht nur nach der einfachsten, billigsten Form.”⁶⁵⁰ Important contemporary historian and preservationist Günther Binding distanced himself from the “*Heimatverbundenheit*” of Phleps and Walbe, but still did not cover Sieg Valley type framework houses in his 1975 *Kleine Kunstgeschichte des deutschen Fachwerkbaus*.⁶⁵¹

An increasingly important aspect of preservation was the establishment of identity. In 1983, Hermann Lübke pointed out that the goal of preservation had become the compensation for the loss of architectural “*Lebenswelten*.”⁶⁵² Speitkamp describes the focus on identity as a typical phenomenon accompanying the theory of preservation in the 1980s. However, Lübke’s text is a reaction to the identity politics associated with the regaining of strength of local preservation movements of the 1950s and 1960s and the growing importance of regionalism during that era. According to Lübke, the sense of loss was compensated by a constant “historization.”⁶⁵³ Accordingly, popular interest in local Heimatkunde grew in the 1950s.⁶⁵⁴ The Sieg Valley Heimatverein’s division for the study of domestic architecture (“Hauskunde”), which was founded in 1951, led hiking tours through the Sieg Valley, but its rhetoric was similar to Paul Schultze-Naumburg’s⁶⁵⁵:

Bei einem Gang durch unsere Dörfer können wir beobachten, daß das Aussehen des Dorfbildes wesentlich von der Gestalt der Haustür und der Fensterteilung bestimmt wird: Gesicht oder Fratze! Freundlich sehen die Fenster mit vier, sechs oder acht *gleich* großen Scheiben aus, währen die

⁶⁴⁹ Kruse, Hans. “Siegerland.” *Heimat und Reich. Monatshefte für westfälisches Volkstum* 2 (1935), p. 42-45.

⁶⁵⁰ Walbe (1942), n.p.

⁶⁵¹ Binding, Günther/Mainzer, Udo/Wiedenau, Anita. *Kleine Kunstgeschichte des deutschen Fachwerkbaus*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975.

⁶⁵² Lübke, Hermann. *Zeit-Verhältnisse. Zur Kulturphilosophie des Fortschritts*. Graz et al.: Styria, 1983, p. 18.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ The 1935 book *Das Siegerland in schönen Bildern* was reprinted in three editions between 1949 and 1955.

Fickeler, Paul. *Das Siegerland in schönen Bildern*. 3. Auflage. Siegen: Schneider, 1949.

Fickeler, Paul. *Das Siegerland in schönen Bildern*. 4. Auflage. Siegen: Schneider, 1950.

Fickeler, Paul. *Das Siegerland in schönen Bildern*. 5. Auflage. Siegen: Schneider, 1955.

Guethling, Wilhelm. *Stadt und Land Siegen in alten Bildern und Karten*. Siegen: Siegerländer Heimatverein, 1957.

Schommer, Willy (ed.). *Siegerland im Bild*. Siegen: Vier-Quellen-Verlag, 1964.

⁶⁵⁵ Teepe-Wurmbach, Annemarie. *Das Bauernhaus des Siegerlandes*. Sobernheim: Arbeitskreis für Hausforschung, 1988, p. 7.

häßlichen galgenförmigen Fensterhölzer und dreiteilige Fenster nicht in den Maßstab des Fachwerks passen.⁶⁵⁶

By the time Schirmer planned to publish Becher's photographs, popular nostalgia was omnipresent. But Becher's hesitancy to align himself with the German preservation movement of the 1950s is understandable in light of its goals: reversing "modern" changes, or musealizing houses by transplanting them to a place where they would fulfill the (impossible) purpose of exhibiting bygone times.⁶⁵⁷ Leftist scholars like Theodor Adorno scorned the identity politics "associated with Heimat" as "untruthful."⁶⁵⁸ In like manner, "Heimat" as a concept was taboo among West German progressives during the 1960s and 1970s: "Der Begriff 'Heimat' ist in Verruf geraten, geradezu ideologisch vorbelastet.... Sowie das Stichwort Heimat fällt, stellt sich die falsche Vorstellung des Dumpfen und Engen, des Beschränkten, der böartigen Biederkeit und Langeweile ein."⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁶ Richter, Helmut. "Das Siegerländer Haus." *Siegerland*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1952), pp. 81-96.

⁶⁵⁷ "Sollen wir den unersetzlichen Werten, die uns unsere noch erhaltenen Fachwerkhäuser bieten, entsagen und ihrem drohenden Untergang teilnahmslos zuschauen? Es wäre schon viel getan, wenn man die unzähligen Beispiele, die das Mißverstehen einer späten Zeit verputzte, von dieser Maskerade befreite, um die Aufmerksamkeit auf ihre verborgenen Schönheiten zu lenken. Wo sich in zerstörten Städten noch einige Fachwerkhäuser erhielten, versetze man sie auf einen geeigneten Platz. Der Nachwelt sollte die Möglichkeit geboten werden, sich daran zu erbauen und aus ihnen handwerklichen und künstlerischen Nutzen zu ziehen."

Phleps, however, only discussed medieval and Renaissance frame work buildings.

Phleps, Hermann. *Deutsche Fachwerkbauten*. Königstein: Karl Robert Langewiesche, 1951, p. 12.

⁶⁵⁸ Umbach, Maiken/Hüppauf, Bernd. *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 15 ff.

⁶⁵⁹ Baden, H.J. "Kein Grass ohne Danzig." *Rheinischer Merkur* (October 23, 1970).

Architectural Photography and Art in West Germany, 1945-1960

After the war, the support of the arts seemed like an opportune means of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, since much art had been defamed during the Third Reich.⁶⁶⁰ “Culture” was seen as having a humanizing potential and was strongly promoted, initially with frequent exhibitions of local art.⁶⁶¹ The specific direction of art was a topic of intense debates and subject to pressures of legitimization within the art world.⁶⁶² But abstract art soon emerged as the epitome of “high” art. Several respected intellectuals such as Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer deeply distrusted visual art for its propagandistic qualities and concluded that high culture had to remain refined, and a right of participation in its discussion hard to attain, a goal that seemed more likely if “difficult,” abstract art represented culture. Abstract art was to be more than a pleasant pastime, unlike superficial figurative art: “Clichés about art casting a glow of happiness and harmony over an unhappy and divided real world are loathsome because they make a mockery of any emphatic concept of art by looking only at perverse bourgeois practices such as the employment of art as the dispenser of solace.”⁶⁶³ Abstract art was hence regarded as more intellectual. And since abstract art was not part of the National Socialist cultural canon, it also appeared to be “uncontaminated.” Still, abstraction’s motivations were deeply mistrusted.⁶⁶⁴ Artists Willi Baumeister and Karl Hofer fought about whether art should be abstract or figurative. Critics on the left (Franz Roh) and right (Hans Sedlmayr) indeed agreed that abstract art appeared

⁶⁶⁰ Countless publications deal with the immediate postwar situation of culture. Among them: Glaser, Hermann et al. (ed.). *Soviel Anfang war nie. Deutsche Städte 1945-1949*. Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989.

Borger, Hugo/Mai, Ekkehard/Waetzoldt, Stephan (eds.). *'45 und die Folgen: Kunstgeschichte eines Wiederbeginns*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 1991.

Hermant (1999).

⁶⁶¹ One example is the exhibition *Junge Ernte*, for which there was even an exhibition catalogue. *Junge Ernte. Ausstellung bildender Künstler*. Exh. Cat. Düsseldorf: Gesellschaft für christliche Kultur, 1947.

The notion that art had important pedagogical value remained a driving factor for conservative groups such as the Deutscher Kunstrat:

“[Der Ausstellung] erzieherischer und aufklärerischer Wert kann nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden, dass sie tatkräftig und zielbewußt jener Klage der modernen Künstler entgegenwirkt, der Paul Klee einmal in den resignierenden Worten ‘Uns trägt kein Volk’ Ausdruck verliehen hat.”

Deutsche Malerei von heute. Eine Wanderausstellung zeitgenössischer Gemälde für Nordrhein-Westfalen 1957/1958. Veranstaltet vom Deutschen Kunstrat e.V. Cologne: Greven & Bechtold, 1957.

⁶⁶² Schneemann, Peter. *Von der Apologie zur Theoriebildung. Die Geschichtsschreibung des Abstrakten Expressionismus*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003.

⁶⁶³ Adorno, Theodor. *Aesthetic Theory* (1970). Edited by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, translated by C. Lenhardt. London et al.: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁴ Heibel, Yule. *Reconstructing the Subject: Modernist Painting in Western Germany, 1945-1950*.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Sedlmayr (1948).

to reflect chaos and estrangement.⁶⁶⁵ But while the right felt threatened by this notion, the left felt that this was, on the one hand, a necessary purging in reaction to the restriction of artistic freedom during the Third Reich, yet on the other hand a reflection of a metaphysical, repressed artistic “inner world.”⁶⁶⁶ This refined “inner world” was what Germans wanted to be known for, a yearning that led West German artists to engage in an intercontinental art discourse soon after the war. Germany was a beneficiary and official ally of the US, yet attempted to redefine its nationhood through a more unique cultural identity.⁶⁶⁷ Americanization was also sped up by Germans’ desire to identify with something other than Germany.⁶⁶⁸

But if abstract American art seemed inevitable, photography had a bad from its use by the Nazis and the Allied re-education campaigns after the war.⁶⁶⁹ Ordinary Germans were required to surrender cameras to Allied troops. Only a few professional photographers were allowed to have cameras, and those who had worked for the Nazis resorted to “neutral” motifs:

Betrachtet man Publikationen der ersten Nachkriegsjahre von solchen Fotografen, die zu Propaganadisten der Nazi-Herrschaft gehört hatten, so findet man einen eigentümlichen Konsens in gemeinschaftlicher Weltflucht. Paul Wolff und Alfred Tritschler fotografierten Blumen und Gräser, Wolf Strache fotografierte Blumen und Gräser, Erna Lendvai-Dircksen fotografierte Blumen und Gräser, Walter Hege fotografierte Steine und Gräser, Albert Renger-Patzsch fotografierte Bäume und Gewässer.⁶⁷⁰

Photographers themselves simply avoided any discussion of photography in Germany in Nazi years.⁶⁷¹ Instead, the photography of the 1920s was glorified, even if some of its protagonists like Renger-Patzsch had modified their approach to fit into a Nazi aesthetic.⁶⁷² But among photography critics, New Objectivity photography was deemed the last “real achievement”: “Wir Deutschen haben weiß Gott nicht viel. Auf fotografischem Gebiet die Erinnerung an eine

⁶⁶⁵ Breuer (1997).

⁶⁶⁶ Held, Jutta. *Kunst und Kunstpolitik 1945-49: Kulturaufbau in Deutschland nach dem 2. Weltkrieg*. Berlin (West): Verlag für Ausbildung und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1981, p. 21.

⁶⁶⁷ Stefan Germer and Julia Bernard outlined the possibility of a “dialogic construction of national identities” with reference to Althusser’s notion of Ideological State Apparatuses.

Stefan Germer/Julia Bernard, “Jenseits von Malerei und Skulptur: Deutsch-amerikanischer Kulturaustausch.” In: Detlev Junker et al. (eds.). *Die USA und Deutschland im Zeitalter des Kalten Krieges 1945-1990. Ein Handbuch*. Stuttgart: DVA, 2001, p. 569.

Althusser, Louis. *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso, 1984, p. 16.

⁶⁶⁸ „1960-1997: Das politische Potential des Kunst. Ein Gespräch zwischen Benjamin Buchloh, Catherine David und Jean-Francois Chevrier.“ In: *Politics, Poetics. Documenta X*. Ostfildern: Cantz, 1997, p. 401.

⁶⁶⁹ Sachsse, Rolf. “August Sanders Mappenwerk vom alten Köln.” In: Schäfer (1988), p. 10.

⁶⁷⁰ Sachsse, Rolf (1984), p. 20.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid. p. 20.

⁶⁷² Ibid., p. 18.

wirkliche Leistung und allenfalls noch einen gewissen verbliebenen Kredit.”⁶⁷³ But despite the history of experimental photography before the war, a discussion of whether photography was art was resolved through a resolution at the Konstanzer Kunstwochen in 1946, stating that painting was to deal with the “interior world” and photography with the “exterior world,” defining photography as a documentary practice.⁶⁷⁴ Overly romantic or nationalistic images or compositions were taboo. Instead, technical perfection became the official paradigm of photography, which focused on innocuous subjects. For his books *Bäume* (*Trees*, 1962) and *Gestein* (*Rock*, 1966), for instance, Albert Renger-Patzsch traveled extensively within Europe to produce the photographs, which were reproduced in their original size in the very extravagant large-scale volumes.⁶⁷⁵ Still, Renger-Patzsch’s rigor and dedication to formal aesthetics were emphasized by his strict “scientific” approach to his projects: “For the preparation of his last large-scale work on stones, he acquired a series of textbooks in order to become more thoroughly acquainted with the essential properties of every type of stone. He set himself the most strenuous tasks in order to take photographs for the book.”⁶⁷⁶ Renger-Patzsch’s industrial commission from the spinning machine factory Schubert & Schulz in Ingolstadt, for which he produced almost 1,700 negatives over the course of sixteen years (1945-1969), was neglected by scholarship.⁶⁷⁷ But Albert Renger-Patzsch belonged to an older generation and had the luxury of building on his prewar reputation.⁶⁷⁸

Younger photographers were eager to connect to the art world and fiercely rejected the “objective” claim of photography. In his 1960 book *Totale Photographie*, journalist Karl Pawek elevated reportage photography by suggesting it was autonomous and followed an inherent aesthetic, like any other high art.⁶⁷⁹ Just as in painting, photography’s new ideal became abstraction, except that eminent art historians simply ignored photography’s lofty aspirations,

⁶⁷³ Lohse (1947), p. 7.

⁶⁷⁴ Derenthal (1999), p. 254.

⁶⁷⁵ Pfingsten (1991), pp. 16-17.

⁶⁷⁶ Kempe, Fritz. “The World Is Beautiful. A Model of Objects and Things.” In: *Albert Renger-Patzsch. 100 Photographs 1928*. Exh. Cat. Paris/Bielefeld/Munich: Beaubourg/Kunsthalle Bielefeld/Neue Sammlung, 1979, p. 8. (Text originally published in *Camera Magazin*, 1978)

⁶⁷⁷ Industrial photography was frowned upon in the 1950s when the so-called Subjective Photography was en vogue.

Bieger-Thielemann, Marianne. *Albert Renger-Patzsch: Der Ingolstädter Auftrag. Überlegungen zur Industriefotografie nach 1945*. Weimar: VDG Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1995, p. 20.

Industrial photographer Ruth Hallensleben’s (1898-1977) work was also seen as documentary work, not as “artistic.”

⁶⁷⁸ The books *Bäume* and *Gestein* were entirely financed by industrialist Ernst Boehringer

⁶⁷⁹ Wolf, Herta. „Einleitung.“ In: Wolf, Herta (ed.). *Paradigma Fotografie. Fotokritik am Ende des fotografischen Zeitalters*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2002, p. 16.

while photographers seemed to argue for the nobility of photography amongst themselves. Nevertheless, it was this 1960s “Subjektive Fotografie” in particular that aspired to emulate the aesthetics of abstraction.⁶⁸⁰ The seeds of this were planted in 1949 when photographer Ludwig Windstosser (1921-1983) commented that a photograph of a burned match on a street covered with ice crystals by colleague Peter Keetmann (1916-2005) displayed “parallels to abstract painting of today.”⁶⁸¹ Otto Steinert (1915-1978), one of the most successful postwar photographers in West Germany, organized three large photo exhibitions in 1951 (*subjektive fotografie*), 1954 (*subjektive fotografie 2*), and 1958 (*subjektive fotografie 3*).⁶⁸² In the foreword to the first exhibition catalogue he emphasized the “personal design of the photographer – in contrast to the ‘applied’ and documentary photography.”⁶⁸³ The group’s journal, *fotoforum*, mainly published the formalist and somewhat dramatic photos it considered artistic, but not the industrial photographs its members took, such as the photographs of the VW plant in Wolfsburg taken by Keetmann. These became famous once interest in industrial photography grew.⁶⁸⁴ Subjective photography’s motifs were usually obscured through the choice of an enlarged detail or the insistence on “abstract” patterns without figurative representation.

Architectural photography’s *only* purpose after the war, however, was to document the built environment or its ruins. The genre of so-called *Trümmerphotographie* had developed even during the war and continued until about 1949.⁶⁸⁵ Several of these documentary images became

⁶⁸⁰ The reasons for the success of abstract art in the art world – though not necessarily in popular sentiment – have been widely discussed. For the specific political motives driving the art market’s embrace of abstraction in West Germany see:

Glozer, Laszlo. “Die unverbrauchte Moderne.” In: *Westkunst*. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Museum Ludwig, 1982, pp. 13-23.

Hermant, Jost. „Freiheit im Kalten Krieg. Zum Siegeszug der abstrakten Malerei in Westdeutschland.“ In: Borger/Mai/Waetzoldt (1991), pp. 133-162.

⁶⁸¹ Windstosser, Ludwig. “Zehn gegen neunzig.” *Photo-Magazin*, vol. 1, no. 6 (September 1949), p. 15.

⁶⁸² *subjektive fotografie*. Exh. Cat. Saarbrücken: Schule für Kunst und Handwerk, 1951.

subjektive fotografie 2. Exh. Cat. Saarbrücken: Schule für Kunst und Handwerk, 1954.

Also: Steinert, Otto. *Subjektive Fotografie. Ein Bildband moderner europäischer Fotografie*. Bonn: Brüder Auer, 1952.

Camera. Internationale Monatszeitschrift für Photographie und Film, vol. 38, no. 3 (1958).

König, Thilo. *Otto Steinerts Konzept “Subjektive Fotografie” 1951-1958*. Munich: Tuduv, 1988.

Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, J.A. *subjektive fotografie. Der deutsche Beitrag 1948-1963*. Exh. Cat. Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1989.

Benteler, Petra. *Deutsche Fotografie nach 1945*. Kassel: Kasseler Kunstverein, 1979.

Die 50er Jahre. Aspekte und Tendenzen. Exh. Cat. Wuppertal: Kunst- und Museumsverein, 1977.

⁶⁸³ Steinert, Otto. „Vorwort.“ In: *subjektive fotografie*. Exh. Cat. Saarbrücken: Schule für Kunst und Handwerk 1951, p. 5.

⁶⁸⁴ Derenthal (1999), p. 235.

⁶⁸⁵ Walter Hege, for instance, was one of the main protagonists of the genre.

Ludger Derenthal’s extensive study of immediate postwar photography lists detailed information on literature, archives, and publications.

iconic, such as Richard Peter's (1895-1977) photo of the destroyed city of Dresden seen from above, a blackened sculpture in the foreground, shot from the top of the City Hall. Peter published the photograph in 1949 in a book to which he gave a strange automaton-as-subject-title: *Dresden – eine Kamera klagt an*. These photos have remained part of the East and West German public's self-image and are periodically presented in the popular media. Architectural critic Manfred Sack wrote in the early 1990s that the photos of destroyed cities eventually shocked him much more than the physical impression of the ruins did at the time.⁶⁸⁶ An interesting oddity among the books appearing directly after the war was Renger-Patzsch's photographic portrait of the city of Paderborn. Although it was only published in 1949, the photographs had been taken in 1939-40 when Renger-Patzsch was exempt from military service.⁶⁸⁷ The book shows eighty photographs of Paderborn *before* it was heavily bombed and is prefaced by a slightly melodramatic introduction by theologist Reinhold Schneider: "Die Trümmer Paderborns stehen vor einem furchtbaren, von Gewittern verhangenen Horizont; sie wissen von Schuld, Verirrung, Heimsuchung ohne gleichen."⁶⁸⁸ But the photos show a very idyllic Paderborn (churches, houses, streets) without trace of destruction or even dirt. It also includes theologist Wilhelm Tack's detailed description of all eighty monuments and sites, which records the buildings' history and level of destruction. Tack writes that several of the pictured objects were destroyed, including the cathedral's fixtures and its portal, the *Rote Pforte*, which had "disappeared from the face of earth." Tack particularly laments the destruction of recently or especially well-restored buildings. In the otherwise sober text, he repeatedly refers to the "catastrophe" or "Untergang" of Paderborn, suggesting that the text for the book might have also been written before the destruction of the motifs.

Photo books showing German towns and villages as architecturally intact became very popular after 1950.⁶⁸⁹ Many of the images in these books represented historical architecture,

Derenthal (1999).

Rühlig, Cornelia/Steen, Jürgen. "Das Kriegsende in Frankfurt am Main als Zeit der Fotogeschichte." *Fotogeschichte*, vol. 5, no. 15 (1985), pp. 33-60.

Claasen, Hermann. *Gesang im Feuerofen. Köln – Überreste einer deutschen Stadt*. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1947.

⁶⁸⁶ Sack, Manfred. "Sehnsucht nach Idyllen. Städtebau und Nachkriegsarchitektur." In: Borger/Mai/Waetzoldt (1991), pp. 47-48.

⁶⁸⁷ It is not clear if and by whom these photographs were commissioned.

See:

Heckert, Virginia. "Albert Renger-Patzsch as Educator. 'Learn to see the World.'" *History of Photography*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1997), p. 209. [205-215]

⁶⁸⁸ Renger-Patzsch, Albert. *Paderborn*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 1949, p. XIV.

⁶⁸⁹ Beckmann, Eberhard/Busch, Harald. *Deutschland. Süden, Westen, Norden. Ein Bildband von deutscher Landschaft, ihren Städten, Dörfern und Menschen*. Frankfurt/Main: Umschau Verlag, 1950.

Kreisel, Heinrich. *München. Die Stadt als Kunstwerk*. Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1950.

which either had not been destroyed or had quickly been restored. Several of these books, which were often commissioned by cities and towns in order to attract tourists, or else by large and expanding German construction companies, showed newly constructed postwar buildings.⁶⁹⁰ Reconstruction was omnipresent, and it was soon to be elevated to a main issue of public debate.⁶⁹¹ Initially, it was met with great enthusiasm by the Germans. Estimates concerning the extent of destruction of housing range widely (according to Ulrich Conrads, there was a shortage of 5.8 million homes), but the volume of new construction was immense, resulting in the

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- Müller-Alfeld, Theodor (ed.). *Das Bild der Heimat*. Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1951.
- Fechter, Paul/Lenz, Werner. *Deutschland. Das Gesicht seiner Städte und Landschaften*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1956. (Many further editions in following years 74.000 by 1960, also 1966)
- Edschmid, Kasimir. *Europa – Das neue Gesicht seiner Städte und Landschaften*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1958.
- Bueckschmitt, Justus (ed.). *Das künftige Gesicht der Weltstadt Hamburg*. Commissioned by the Hansestadt Hamburg. Hamburg: Verlag der Werkberichte, 1958.
- Westecker, Wilhelm. *Die Wiedergeburt der deutschen Städte*. Düsseldorf/Wien: Econ Verlag, 1962. (A critical account.)
- Hillebrecht, Rudolf/Müller-Ibold, Klaus. *Städte verändern ihr Gesicht. Strukturwandel einer Großstadt und ihrer Region dargestellt am Beispiel Hannover*. Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1962.
- ⁶⁹⁰ One such example is the elaborate illustrated book *Wiederaufbau Deutschland. Dem Phoenix gleich*. Hannover: Steinbock, 1966.
- Also:
- Wachsmann, Konrad. *Aspekte*. Wiesbaden: Krausskopf, 1961.
- Manuals for the production of technically perfect photos for advertisement of tourist sites or new architecture were also popular.
- Giebelhausen, Joachim. *Architektur-Fotografie*. München: Verlag Großbildtechnik, 1964.
- ⁶⁹¹ On the political and legislative frameworks as well as information on specific cities see:
- Beyme, Klaus von. *Der Wiederaufbau. Architektur und Städtebaupolitik in beiden deutschen Staaten*. Munich: Piper, 1987.
- Scholarly attention was directed towards postwar reconstruction since the 1980s. See also:
- Schulz, Bernhard (ed.). *Grauzonen, Farbwelten: Kunst und Zeitbilder 1945-1955*. Exh. Cat. Berlin: NGBK, 1983.
- Honnef, Klaus/Schmidt, Hans (eds.). *Aus den Trümmern. Kunst und Kultur im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1945-1952*. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1985.
- Hackelsberger (1985).
- Durth, Werner/Gutschow, Niels. *Träume in Trümmern. Planungen zum Wiederaufbau zerstörter Städte im Westen Deutschlands 1940-1950*. Braunschweig/Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1988.
- Pehnt, Wolfgang. *Umgang mit Ruinen. Kulturbauten in der deutschen Nachkriegsarchitektur*. In: Borger/Mai/Waetzoldt (1991), pp. 111-134.
- Beyme, Klaus von et al. *Neue Städte aus Ruinen. Deutscher Städtebau der Nachkriegszeit*. Munich: Prestel, 1992.
- Schulz, Günther. *Wiederaufbau in Deutschland. Die Wohnungspolitik in den Westzonen und der Bundesrepublik von 1945 bis 1957*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994.
- For an extensive discussion on postwar housing, see the articles in the volume edited by Ingeborg Flagge.
- Flagge, Ingeborg (ed.). *1945 bis heute: Aufbau, Umbau, Neubau. Geschichte des Wohnens. Vol. 5*. Stuttgart: Wüstenrot Stiftung Deutscher Eigenheimverein, 1999.
- Once renovation of postwar architecture became necessary in the 1980s, architectural critics called for concepts for its preservation.
- C.f. Grunsky, Eberhard. *Baudenkmäler der Nachkriegszeit? Beispiele aus Westfalen*. In: Klüeting, Edeltraud (ed.). *Der Wiederaufbau nach dem 2. Weltkrieg und die Probleme des Denkmalschutzes*. Münster: Westfälischer Heimatbund, 1990, pp. 21-98.

completion of some 2.5 million apartments between 1945 and 1950.⁶⁹² The speed of, and attitude toward, reconstruction seemed disconcerting to writer Alfred Döblin, who described his “great astonishment that the people here are running around like ants in a destroyed hill, agitated and work manic [*arbeitswütig*], and their greatest honest grief is that they cannot do anything due to lack of materials and directives.”⁶⁹³ Finally, the first housing law of 1950 called for the construction of an additional 1.8 million low-cost apartments within six years in order to achieve the “moral and ethical healing of the German people.” One of the main goals for such “healing” was economic ambition, not only by employing Germans in the building business, but also by increasing productivity with healthy and conveniently located workers.⁶⁹⁴

In 1947, one of the two subsequently most important architectural journals, *Baukunst und Werkform*, published a statement signed by 38 architects, art historians, and artists, in which they call for a humble but solid “valid-simple” (“*das Gültig-Einfache*”) design.⁶⁹⁵ The term of the face is remarkably absent in the statement, which suggests their avoidance of National Socialist dogmas such as the vilification of the city or the fake reconstruction of historical buildings. The word “Weltanschauung,” which previously denoted an ideological view of the world to which the world should be molded, is replaced by the term “*sichtbare Welt*” (“visible world”), a term that apparently denotes distant observation of built forms rather than ocular and bodily immersion into an imagined “ideal” space. At the same time, the Nazi regime itself is described as a coherent and functioning exterior world that simply “collapsed” in 1945, not 1933. And the invocation of the “spirit of the victims” seems not to refer to the millions of victims of Nazi persecution but to the intellectual Germans within the German “Volk,” whose “Geist” was broken. Essentially, the cultural intelligentsia is referring to itself.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹² Conrads, Ulrich. “Fundamental Aspects of German Post-war Architecture.” [sic] In: Hatje, Gerd (ed.). *Neue deutsche Architektur 2*. Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1962, p. 15.

⁶⁹³ Döblin, Alfred. „Schicksalsreise.“ (1946) In: Döblin, Alfred. *Ausgewählte Werke*. Solothurn: Walter Verlag 1993, p. 376.

⁶⁹⁴ *Erstes Wohnungsbaugesetz der Deutschen Bundesrepublik vom 24. April, 1950*. Munich: Beck, 1950. “Nach der Regierungserklärung des Bundeskanzlers vom 20. September 1949 ist es der feste Wille der Bundesregierung, die Verhältnisse auf dem Wohnungsgebiet, die die soziale und ethische Gesundung des deutschen Volkes unmöglich und die auch das Leben der Vertriebenen und Ausgebombten so unendlich schwer machen, mit ganzer Kraft einer Besserung entgegenzuführen.”

Also: Schuster, Franz. *Der Stil unserer Zeit. Die fünf Formen des Gestaltens der äusseren Welt des Menschen, ein Beitrag zum kulturellen Wiederaufbau*. Vienna: A. Schroll, 1948.

⁶⁹⁵ Generally, *Baukunst und Werkform* founded by Alfons Leidl was the more “modernist” journal, in comparison with the other important architecture journal, *Baumeister*. *Baukunst und Wohnen* attempted to show the architecture of the immediate past, it was in fact very contemporary and international (within Western boundaries), featuring, for instance, a special issue on Bruce Goff in 1953, Italian architecture, etc.

⁶⁹⁶ Bartning, Otto et al. “Ein Aufruf. Grundsätzliche Forderungen.” *Baukunst und Werkform*, no. 1 (1947), p. 29.

But as early as 1947, architects, apparently accustomed to material and professional security provided in the Third Reich, also lamented the low standards and pettiness of bargaining over “ten sacks of cement.”⁶⁹⁷ This sense of entitlement is striking in that Cold War tactics led to the decision of the Allies to support West Germany in regaining industrial (as opposed to agrarian) strength in order to reintegrate it into Western Europe and establish a strong front against communism.⁶⁹⁸ Additionally, much of the new construction was financed with the \$1.065 billion that West Germans had received from the Marshall Plan by January 1951 since it had been instated in 1948. Still, many Germans chose to refer to 1945 as “Stunde Null,” a convenient fiction that there had been “nothing” before that date.⁶⁹⁹ The perception of loss, associated with the negative effects of modernization, dominated the German mind and defined its relationship to its built environment – not responsibility or gratefulness.⁷⁰⁰ Monika Flacke argued that the US and Russia supported or permitted Germans’ absence of responsibility in order to maintain stability in Germany through the fiction that the large majority of Germans were victims themselves.⁷⁰¹ The year 1945 was not necessarily the beginning of planning – much planning had

The pledoyer was signed by:

Otto Bartning, Willi Baumeister, Eugen Blanck, Walter Dirks, Richard Döcker, Egon Eiermann, Karl Foerster, Richard Hamann, Gustav Hassenpflug, Otto Haupt, Werner Hebebrand, Carl Georg Heise, Carl Oskar Jatho, Hans Leistikow, Georg Leowald, Rudolf Lodders, Alfred Mahlau, Gerhard Marcks, Ewald Mataré, Ludwig Neundörfer, Walter Passarge, Max Pechstein, Lilly Reich, Paul Renner, Wilhelm Riphahn, Hans Schmitt, Lambert Schneider, Fritz Schuhmacher, Rudolf Schwarz, Otto Ernst Schweizer, Hans Schwippert, Max Taut, Heinrich Tessenow, Otto Völckers, Robert Vorhoelzer. Wilhelm Wagenfeld, Hans Warnecke.

⁶⁹⁷ H., J. “Anmerkungen zur Zeit.” *Baukunst und Werkform*, no. 1 (1947), p. 3 [3-28]

In the same issue, 38 members of the Werkbund (among them Egon Eiermann and Lilly Reich) signed a pledoyer for reconstruction in “valid and simple forms” (“das Gültig-Einfache”).

Bartning, Otto et al. “Ein Aufruf. Grundsätzliche Forderungen.” *Baukunst und Werkform*, no. 1 (1947), p. 29.

Generally, *Baukunst und Werkform* founded by Alfons Leidl was the more “modernist” journal, in comparison with the other important architecture journal, *Baumeister* (see reference to text by Dellius above). *Baukunst und Wohnen* attempted to show the architecture of the immediate past, it was in fact very contemporary and international (within Western boundaries), featuring, for instance, a special issue on Bruce Goff in 1953.

See also:

Hackelsberger (1985), p. 26.

⁶⁹⁸ Hermand (1986), pp. 19-41.

⁶⁹⁹ Sack, Manfred. “Sehnsucht nach Idyllen. Städtebau und Nachkriegsarchitektur. In: Borger/Mai/Waetzoldt (1991), p. 54.

⁷⁰⁰ The specifics of the Marshall-Plan are described by Jeffrey Diefendorf and Hermann-Josef Rupieper. Diefendorf, Jeffrey/Rupieper, Hermann-Josef (eds.). *American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945-1955*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

⁷⁰¹ “Die Strategie lief im wesentlichen darauf hinaus, daß die Täter mit den nationalsozialistischen Eliten gleichgesetzt wurden, während die übrige Bevölkerung mehr oder weniger selbst zu den Opfern gehört habe.”

Flacke, Monika (ed.). *Mythen der Nationen. 1945 - Arena der Erinnerungen. Vol. 1*. Mainz: von Zabern, 2004, p. 9.

already begun after the first air raids on Germany, several years before the end of the war.⁷⁰² After the end of the war, however, “*Wiederaufbau*” (reconstruction) became a preoccupation of West Germans.⁷⁰³ (The term “*Wiederaufbau*” is mainly used in postwar West Germany. In the East, the term used was “*Neuaufbau*.”⁷⁰⁴) Some parts of cities were literally “rebuilt” in their prewar footprints, with similar façades.⁷⁰⁵ But even projects like the newly constructed Hansaviertel in Berlin were officially titled “*Wiederaufbau*,” not in reference to individual building but as a reference to the huge gaps in the urban fabric. The Hansaviertel in Berlin was one of the few housing projects that was massively publicized with expensive books, probably because it was considered “international” and featured modernist architecture by prestigious international architects Alvar Aalto and Oscar Niemeyer.⁷⁰⁶

Repopulating cities was perceived as an important step for healing the geographically small nation of the Federal Republic of Germany. In an overview of the first five years of building in West Germany after 1945, published in the conservative architecture journal *Baumeister*, architect Josef Wolff describes the reconstruction within war-damaged cities as a great German achievement. So strong was the memory of, and disdain for, unrealized modernist planning by architects such as Ludwig Hilberseimer in the Weimar Republic, that the author earnestly accuses emigrated modernist architects of favoring the abandonment of cities and suggesting rationalized town planning (when this was in fact what National Socialists had perfected and executed in new industrial towns such as Wolfsburg, the “Stadt des KdF-Wagens”):

⁷⁰² As early as Oktober 1945, Swiss architect Max Bill published a book on new construction methods for standardized housing for the Department of Export of the Swiss Trade Association in expectation of a boom in the construction industry. To be sure, many measures of urban renewal resulting in massive new construction and urban reshaping were not necessarily unique to Germany, but the scale and meaning of German reconstruction was extraordinary.

Bill, Max. *Wiederaufbau. Dokumente über Zerstörungen, Planungen, Konstruktionen*. Zurich: Verlag für Architektur Erlenbach, 1945.

Also: Diefendorf, Jeffrey. *In the Wake of War. The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. xvi-vvii.

⁷⁰³ For a comprehensive history see:

Beyme (1987).

Also:

Nerdinger, Winfried/Florschütz, Ines (eds.). *Architektur der Wunderkinder. Aufbruch und Verdrängung in Bayern 1945-1960*. Exh. Cat. Munich/Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005.

⁷⁰⁴ On this and many other differences between the West and East German sectors:

Müller-Toovey, Doris. *Bilder des Aufbaus. Eine vergleichende Studie bildkünstlerischer Darstellungen im Osten und Westen Deutschlands nach 1945*. Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2005, p. 14.

⁷⁰⁵ Some of the most wellknown examples are the cities of Münster, Nuremberg, and Munich.

⁷⁰⁶ Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen/Bund Deutscher Architekten (ed.). *Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1957. Wiederaufbau Hansaviertel Berlin*. Darmstadt: Das Beispiel, 1957.

Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen Berlin (ed.). *Die Interbau wird diskutiert*. Wiesbaden/Berlin: Bauverlag, 1960.

Es hat nicht an Stimmen und Forderungen gefehlt, die jetzt die Stunde für gekommen hielten, alle die in Jahrzehnten erkannten und vielerörterten Fehler und Schwächen der modernen Städte mit einem Schlage auszumerzen. Ja, deutsche Fachleute von jenseits des Ozeans empfahlen uns allen Ernstes, die Trümmer unserer Städte zu lassen, wo sie lagen, und auf Neuland völlig technisierte Stadteinheiten von höchster Wirtschaftlichkeit zu gründen.⁷⁰⁷

Germans prided themselves on the “*Wirtschaftswunder*,” an extraordinarily strong and growing economy that provided many of them with an increasingly good quality of life. By the early 1950s, productivity was increasing in great steps and was encouraged by trade fairs such as the 1953 *Erste Grosse Rationalisierungsausstellung: Alle sollen besser leben*, a large public exhibition about rationalization and productivity that was visited by 1.4 million people. The promotion of prefabricated and modular housing was one aim of the exhibition.⁷⁰⁸ Architect Alfred Simon noted in 1963 that the economic success had unfortunately relieved Germans of deeper moral concerns:

Opportunismus machte sich vordergründig. Hier liegen in sehr früher Zeit des Neuanfangs Gründe für das Absterben der vorhandenen Initiative, schon in diesen Jahren, und auch jene Mentalität entstand, die den ‘Wirtschaftwunderdeutschen’ kennzeichnet ... der Glaube an den Erfolg, das heißt: Erfolg als höchstes, legitimes Ziel ohne Rücksicht auf seine Voraussetzungen und Folgen und ohne politische oder moralische Verantwortung gegenüber der Gesamtheit.⁷⁰⁹

Democracy and Aesthetics

Morality of a different sort, however, was strongly debated. Many intellectuals and cultural critics felt morally responsible for the cultural direction and taste of the new republic. The *Darmstädter Gespräche*, initiated in 1950, launched a series of annual exhibitions and discussions between influential philosophers, art historians, and architects, in which the cultural value of art and architecture was discussed. The major of the city of Darmstadt opened the first event, *Das Menschenbild unserer Zeit*, in 1950 with a call to the “Wiederherstellung des Ansehens unseres Vaterlandes unter den Kulturvölkern dieser Erde.”⁷¹⁰ The first exhibition showed a selection of artworks as well as a selection of new architectural projects in Germany. The issue of being able

⁷⁰⁷ Wolff, Josef. “Fünf Jahre Städtebau der Nachkriegszeit.” *Baumeister*, vol. 48 (1951), p. 41.

⁷⁰⁸ Trost, Klara. “‘Alle sollen besser leben’ Eine schöne Ausstellung – ein Vorschlag.” *Baumeister*, vol. 50, no. 9 (September 1953), pp. 620-22.

⁷⁰⁹ Simon, Alfred (ed.). *Bauen in Deutschland: 1945-1962*. Essen: Vulkan, 1963, n.p.

⁷¹⁰ Schröder, Ernst. „Begrüssung.” In: Evers, Hans Gerhard and Magistrate of the City of Darmstadt (eds.). *Erstes Darmstädter Gespräch. Das Menschenbild in unserer Zeit*. Darmstadt: Neue Darmstädter Verlagsanstalt, 1950.

to read artworks was of greatest pertinence to those present and provoked a fight between Hans Sedlmayer – who claimed that the “chaotic,” modern, nonfigurative art alienated its confused viewer – and Willi Baumeister, who called for more cultural education in training new viewers for abstract art. Baumeister acknowledged that laymen could often not tell the top from the bottom of a modernist painting, but only because they were not yet well educated enough.

The architectural designs presented in the publication of transcripts of the lectures and discussions are each represented through drawings or photograph of models of the buildings, along with a text by the architect. Ernst Neufert, for instance, designed a “Ledigenheim,” a residential building for unmarried workers for which he even designed the furnishing – which probably would not have been necessary, but which demonstrates his desire to strictly control space and its use. In effect, all of the eleven projects presented look very similar: most were one- to three-story structures with large windows and flat roofs, and most were educational institutions, which were heavily funded at the time. Rudolf Schwarz designed a “Mädchenberufsschule,” a vocational school for girls. He was obviously so embarrassed by his commission that his explanatory lecture brimmed with utter chauvinist contempt for anything he classified as “female.” But he legitimized his design, which he admitted was completely independent of its program, as having a pedagogical side effect of bringing some formal sense to the young girls:

Es ist ja gerade der Sinn dieser Schule, auch die einfachen und schönen Handreichungen der Hausfrau als geistiges Tun zu lehren.... So entstand dann eine vielleicht monotone, jedenfalls aber spröde Form, die Sie hier sehen. Aber ich glaube, das ist gerade für die Erziehung junger Mädchen gar nicht übel, [note on side: Heiterkeit] wenn sie in eine Form hineingebracht werden, die gar nicht herzlos, sondern von Licht und Wärme und Güte durchflossen, aber doch groß, klar und streng ist und sich nicht in Gefühlen verliert. Gerade das Erlebnis, in einer strengen Form einheimisch zu sein, ist, glaube ich, erzieherisch sehr wertvoll.⁷¹¹

The Darmstädter Gespräche and its publications were a forum for cultural revival, but they were not informed by a critical stance on the past; instead, all discussion concerned the future of the cultural development. Unlike the early twentieth century or the interwar period, the urgency of a coherent, harmonic appearance for towns was not only generally accepted, but it was also something Germans could afford (with Allied money). The proceedings of the second Darmstädter Gespräch, titled *Mensch und Raum*, were prefaced by an introduction by treasurer Gustav Feick, who voiced cities’ need for an “intellectual face”:

⁷¹¹ Ibid., p. 153.

Another example of the notion that the rigor of design has pedagogical benefits is

Das zentrale Problem auf unserer kommunalen Ebene ist der Aufbau unserer Städte. Nicht nur der äußere, materielle Aufbau, sondern gerade auch das Ringen um die geistigen Probleme dieses Aufbaues. Wichtigste Aufgabe ist es, den Städten wieder ein geistiges Gesicht zu geben, wenn sie nicht zu zufälligen Anhäufungen von Menschen und Wohnungen werden sollen. Wenn wir uns um diese Dinge bemühen, dann aus der schlichten Erkenntnis heraus, daß es sich heute um eine Aufgabe der Allgemeinheit handelt.⁷¹²

The third event (*Mensch und Technik. Erzeugnis–Form–Gebrauch*) focused on industrial production and design of consumer goods such as furnishings, to which an extraordinary importance was ascribed. Indeed, Günther Freiherr von Pechmann, the founder of the *Neue Sammlung* in Munich and head of the “*Arbeitskreis für industrielle Formgebung im Bund Deutscher Unternehmer*,” claimed that consumers had an ethical duty to support the production of “*gute Ware*.”⁷¹³ Several speakers deemed “*Geschmackserziehung*” highly necessary.

An institution that had committed itself to the propagation of good mass-produced design and saw itself as a continuation of the Bauhaus was the *Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm*. Founded by educator Inge Aicher-Scholl, designer Otl Aicher, and architect Max Bill, the HfG followed a concept of “environmental design” that would touch aspects of everyday life and promote “democratic aesthetics” such as uncapitalized typeface, new communication and typographical systems, and the planning of “environments.” Like many departments, the photography department at the HfG went through many changes, at some point employing Willi Moegle, who primarily produced photographs of newly produced industrial objects in the New Objectivity tradition. Shortly before the HfG closed in 1968, the department included Will McBride, a guest lecturer in photojournalism whose sometimes provocative photographs of Berlin youths were featured in popular magazines. The 1960s trend towards the documentation of current social practices rather than the establishment of a priori rules and systems of “good” design was concurrent with the closing of the HfG Ulm. While photography itself was seen as a means rather than a discipline in its own right, so-called “visual communication” – the combination of text and

⁷¹² Magistrate of the City of Darmstadt and the Committee of the Darmstädter Gespräch (eds.).

Darmstädter Gespräch 2. Mensch und Raum. Darmstadt: Neue Darmstädter Verlagsanstalt, 1951, pp. 8-9.

⁷¹³ “Als Käufer und Verbraucher ist der Mensch verantwortlich dafür, ob gute oder schlechte Ware abgesetzt und produziert werden kann. Diese Zusammenhänge, ihre Bedeutung für das wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leben der Nation, sollte die Ausstellung sichtbar machen. [...] Die Würde des Menschen verlangt es, daß er seine Arbeitskraft nicht an Dingen wendet, die minderwertig und unschön sind, die eine Vergeudung von Werkstoff und Kraft bedeuten, auch wenn sie merkantilen Gewinn bringen. Technische Brauchbarkeit mit guter Gestaltung zu verbinden, ist eine Aufgabe, die zur Ordnung der menschlichen Gesellschaft und zur sinnvollen Erfüllung des Daseins beiträgt.”

Pechmann, Günther von. “Aufgabe und Durchführung der Ausstellung.” In: Schwippert, Hans/Magistrate of the City of Darmstadt (eds.). *Drittes Darmstädter Gespräch. Mensch und Technik. Erzeugnis-Form-Gebrauch*. Darmstadt: Neue Darmstädter Verlagsanstalt, 1952, pp. 15-16.

image with the goal of utmost clarity of a message – was one of the core principles taught at the very influential institution.⁷¹⁴

Good Modernism, Bad Modernism: New Construction and Functionalism

“I disliked the architecture of the 50’s, which was supposedly functional, but which I thought was a kind of functional formalism, inhuman in essence.”⁷¹⁵

Bernd Becher

In the meantime, consumerist discussion of “Wohnkultur” had filled newsstands and bookstores. Many such books were written by and directed at women, who, during the postwar economic boom, were relegated to the role of the homemaker.⁷¹⁶ The art magazine *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim*, a magazine that included illustrated discussions of artworks and antiques as well as covered contemporary architecture and contained numerous advertisements for home furnishings, was particularly successful.⁷¹⁷ The new architecture shown in *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* consisted mainly of generic single-family homes by German architects for the new well-to-do middle class, but it also covered new architecture by Americans such as Richard Neutra. At the same time, even lower and lower-middle class Germans who could not afford to build a new bungalow were generally well off by the 1950s. With employment so full that the German government invited “guest workers” from Southern Europe, German citizens had few existential worries. (Since the “guest workers” were not expected to stay in Germany and certainly were not considered a permanent part of society, even their housing was

⁷¹⁴ Wachsmann, Christiane. “Wortverlust oder die Herrschaft der Bilder.” In: *Objekt + Objektiv=Objektivität?* Exh. Cat. HfG-Archiv Ulm. Ulm: HfG-Archiv, 1991, pp. 54-65.

⁷¹⁵ Bernd Becher in an interview with Angela Grauerholz and Anne Ramsden.

Grauerholz, Angela/Ramsden, Anne. “Photographing Industrial Architecture: An Interview with Hilla and Bernd Becher.” *Parachute* 22 (1981), p. 15.

⁷¹⁶ *Alle sollen besser leben: Grosse Rationalisierungsausstellung 1953*. Düsseldorf: Rationalisierungsausstellung, 1953.

Seeger, Mia (ed.). *Gute Möbel, schöne Räume*. Stuttgart: Hoffman, 1953.

Richter, Margarete. *Raumschaffen unserer Zeit. Neue Bilder aus Häusern und Gärten*. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1953.

Brödner, Erika. *Modernes Wohnen*. München, H. Rinn, 1954.

Roh, Juliane. *Die moderne Wohnung*. Darmstadt: F. Schneekluth, 1955.

⁷¹⁷ Bernd Becher particularly mentioned the *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* as one of the two art magazines, next to *Das Kunstwerk*, he had access to in the 1950s.

Author’s interview with the artist at his home in Düsseldorf, May 3rd, 2006.

Schrewe, Anne. *Kunstwerk und Kunstware in der Sicht der Kunst- und Wohnzeitschrift Die Kunst und das schöne Heim*. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer, 1979.

inconsequential. Many lived in simple barracks adjoining factories. These residential spaces were, of course, not published.)

Those who did not build new homes started renovating old buildings with all types of new, often synthetic materials. New aluminum picture windows, garages, bathrooms, and carpets were installed. Newly constructed rental apartments were outfitted with all sorts of amenities and decorations available through mail order catalogues. Writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger railed against these consumerist desires for an isolated private space in his 1960 polemic “The Plebiscite of the Consumers,” a review of the Neckermann mail order catalogue: “The majority among us has decided in favor of a petty bourgeois hell [‘*kleinbürgerliche Hölle*’], from which there seems to be no escape. This world is entirely closed and insulated against any disruption. Any object which enters into it is immediately assimilated and adopted.”⁷¹⁸ Enzensberger ascribed to the German petty bourgeoisie a mental state that was “closer to idiocy than ever before,” accusing it of withdrawing from public activity.⁷¹⁹ A whole new industry of traveling salesmen, who could expect to close several deals when visiting a new high-rise development, emerged. An advertisement for Miele washing machines from the November 1967 issue of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* shows a smiling salesman in front of brand-new multi-family housing developments in Berlin (fig. 4.2). The caption next to the image identifies the development as the Berlin Gropiusstadt, which was erected between 1965 and 1972 after plans of Walter Gropius’ US firm TAC. Gropiusstadt was planned to house fifty thousand inhabitants in 18,500 apartments, ninety percent of which were reserved for very low-income residents.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁸ Enzensberger, Hans Magnus. “Das Plebiszit der Verbraucher.” In: Enzensberger, Hans Magnus. *Einzelheiten 1. Bewußtseinsindustrie*. Frankfurt/main: Suhrkamp, 1987, p. 168.

⁷¹⁹ Scholars like Erich Fromm (in his 1941 *Escape from Freedom*) have argued that fascism was an outcome of misguided (proletarian or petty bourgeois) longings for security. Hence, many intellectuals and artists in the 1960s and 70s reacted negatively towards a public space apparently reflecting petty bourgeois values such as orderliness and cleanliness.

Fromm, Erich. *Escape From Freedom*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941.

In 1977, referencing Marxist art historian Arnold Hauser, Klaus Honnef states: “Die gegenwärtige Gesellschaft ist überhaupt durch ihren überwiegend kleinbürgerlichen Zug charakterisiert.”

Honnef, Klaus. “Der Zeitgenosse. Bemerkungen zum fotografischen Werk von Albert Renger-Patzsch.” In: Honnef, Klaus (ed.). *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Fotografien 1925-1960. Industrielandschaft, Industriearchitektur, Industrieprodukt*. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Kunstmuseum Bonn, 1977, p. 11.

⁷²⁰ Not long after the development was completed, and this photograph was taken, Gropiusstadt became (and remains known) for its poverty and social problems.

The same issue of *Deutsche Bauzeitung* showed models for nuclear power plants. *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (November 1967), p. 909.

Many large administrative complexes also needed to be built quickly with “modern” materials such as steel and glass. They seemed to be posited against the Nazi aesthetic.⁷²¹ Sleek, transparent buildings were meant to portray a new, democratic, “modern” Germany.⁷²² During the 1950s and 1960s, Siegen was a site of much new construction, since its center was bombed in December 1944, with little of the city center remaining.⁷²³ Towns that had suffered great destruction were often particularly proud of the new buildings, and residents and historians welcomed the new construction in Siegen, eighty-five percent of which had been destroyed.

Popular sentiment eventually turned negative when some new construction was associated with foreign military presence. A group of high rises built during the 1960s on a hill outside of Siegen to house Belgian military forces soon became known as the “NATO-Zähne” (“NATO-teeth”) and was finally demolished in 1999 after complaints that it had become a “sozialer Brennpunkt.”⁷²⁴ Housing developments were less likely to be published in professional architectural journals and books than in photographs of administrative buildings or even in photographs of models. Many of the new residential or commercial complexes were aesthetically bland, standardized, low-cost building projects with thin walls, low ceilings, and cheap materials. Still, residents were happy to move into the buildings, which provided them with comforts such as central heating and running hot water. Images of these buildings were published in popular magazines or as illustrations for advertisements for new building materials such as the cement asbestos “Fulgurit,” which underscored its message of “Progressive Planning and Building” by depicting a parked car in front of a desolate commercial building. “Plexiglas XT” was advertised with an image showing a detail of a building façade, emphasizing a repetitiveness that could be broken up through the pastel-colored panels (fig. 4.3).

⁷²¹ Wise, Michael Z. *Capital Dilemma: Germany's Search for a New Architecture of Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Barnstone, Deborah Ascher. *The Transparent State: Architecture and Politics in Postwar Germany*. London et al: Routledge, 2005.

Damus, Martin. *Das Rathaus. Architektur und Sozialgeschichte von der Gründerzeit bis zur Postmoderne*. Berlin, 1988.

Warnke, Martin. “Bau und Gegenbau.” In: Hipp, Hermann/Seidel, Ernst (eds.). *Architektur als politische Kultur*. Berlin: Reimer, 1996, pp. 11-18.

⁷²² Wise (1998), pp. 23-38.

Still, many single-family homes and small town administrative building were still built in the Heimatschutz-style typical for the 1930s.

Kieser, Marco. *Heimatschutzarchitektur im Wiederaufbau des Rheinlandes*. Cologne: Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz, 1998, pp. 110-127.

⁷²³ Tröps, Dieter/Braunöhler, Horst. *Damals bei uns in Siegen. Vorkriegszeit, Bomben, Zerstörung, Wiederaufbau. Eine Bildokumentation*. Siegen: Vorländer, 1995.

⁷²⁴ Architectural historian Herbert Kienzler refers to “schmucke Neubauten” in his 1974 article in the annual magazine *Unser Heimatland*.

Kienzler, Herbert. “Des Siegerlandes Aufstieg aus den Trümmern. Kraftvolle Entfaltung des Baugeschehens. Ein Bild imponierender Leistungen.” *Unser Heimatland*, vol. 42, 1974, pp. 66-78.

The endless reproduction of images of postwar façades contributed to the development of the term “*Rasterfassade*” (“grid façade”), and these images would later anchor architectural polemics in the 1970s. In fact, the quantity and quality of the representation of the postwar buildings contributed to the ensuing strong aversion to them. During the 1950s and early 1960s, the omnipresent photographs of postwar standardized housing resembled modernist images of interwar modernist housing: angularity, strong monochromatic contrasts, and the repetition of cubic forms (fig. 4.4). Any one of the many photo books on the new cities contains these types of photos: undecorated façades visually divided only by verticals and horizontals consisting of window rows or balconies. The photographs are often black and white, but this somewhat accurately reflects the limited color palette used in buildings: white or light gray plaster, and dark raw brick, identifiable on the black-and-white photograph through its distinctive pattern. Photographers and editors often emphasized the buildings’ regularity by cutting off the ends of the building, suggesting an endless repetition of the façade pattern.⁷²⁵ In Gerd Hatje’s 1956 selection of new buildings in West Germany, Hubert Hoffmann criticizes the simplified use of standardized building modules and cheap materials, which lead to monotonous façades as a violation, not a continuation of modernist principles:

Man teile ein Bauwerk nach Wirtschaftlichkeit und Programm ein, nehme die Konstruktion als formales Schema, verwende viel Glas, Aluminium, Welleternit und Kunstharz – schon haben wir die moderne Architektur! Wir haben sie nicht! Wir haben nur ein Mißverständnis. [...] sein Ergebnis ist das der ‘Rasterfassade,’ die durch ihre Monotonie viel dazu beigetragen hat, den Gegnern der modernen Baukunst billige Argumente über den Mangel an Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten in die Hand zu spielen.⁷²⁶

One of the first explicit attacks on “functionalism” by an architect was made by Rudolf Schwarz in his article “Bilde Künstler, rede nicht” in the January 1953 issue of *Baukunst und Werkform*.⁷²⁷ Schwarz complained that architects designing grid façades on postwar buildings

⁷²⁵ The three photographs of new housing developments (Altona, Uhlenhorst, and Grindelberg) included in a 1955 photo book on Hamburg can stand in for thousands of such photographs. As so often in the postwar picture books, the text is written in German, English, and French.

Jess, Henning (ed.). *Hamburg. Das Bild einer Stadt*. Photographs by Hans Leip and 24 other photographers. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1955, figs. 57-59.

⁷²⁶ Hatje, Gerd (ed.). *Neue deutsche Architektur*. Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1956, p. VIII.

Hatje, Gerd (ed.). *Neue deutsche Architektur 2*. Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1962.

⁷²⁷ Schwarz, Rudolf. “Bilde Künstler, rede nicht.” *Baukunst und Werkform*, vol. 6, no. 1 (January 1953), pp. 10-11.

Previously, a debate had taken place in other architectural journals between Alfred Fink, who lamented the lack of modern architects in Germany in the Swiss architectural journal *Werk* (“Innere Schwierigkeiten im Wiederaufbau Deutschlands,” 1950) and Hellmut Dellius, who defended architecture in the Third Reich

were trying to emulate modernist architecture, which had been a Communist “*Irrlicht*” in the first place. His criticism found great resonance in architectural circles in which the aggressive discussion of the interwar years remained fresh. Architectural modernism and its representation, however, were only available to a certain cultural elite. During the interwar years, only a small elite had access to, or would have in fact been interested in, Bauhaus publications, for instance, and their depiction of modernist buildings. Even attempts to popularize a modernist visual language that could guide living spaces for “ordinary” Germans, such as Laszlo Moholy-Nagy’s brochure for a standardized housing co-op development, would most likely have been considered too edgy and blasé for the general public (fig. 4.5).⁷²⁸ Most Germans would not have known these images from a modernist context, but only from the polemics *against* modernism found in cheap and accessible publications such as Schultze-Naumburg’s *Kulturarbeiten*.⁷²⁹

The debate about functionalism continued in books and design magazines in the late 1960s. In one of the last issues of the official magazine of the HfG Ulm, the French communication theorist Abraham Moles called functionalism a “doctrin of modern design eschewed by the members of the Bauhaus.”⁷³⁰ In particular, Moles criticized the older generation’s authoritarianism, but his main attack was aimed at the utilization of design in creating a capitalist “*Überflußgesellschaft*,” a criticism echoed by several young designers at the time.⁷³¹ By contrast, philosopher Theodor Adorno’s sullen text entitled *Functionalism Today*, in which he criticized the mundane uniformity of postwar architecture, reveals an almost insulted sentiment at functionalist architecture’s lack of sophistication. His critique is thus more akin to the late nineteenth-century Bildungsbürgertum, as his reference of Adolf Loos’ dictum (“*Ein*

(mainly housing) in his article “Fehlt es Deutschland an modernen Architekten?”

Dellius, Hellmut. “Fehlt es Deutschland an modernen Architekten?” *Baumeister*, vol. 48 (1951), p. 44.

⁷²⁸ *Wollen Sie Ihr eigenes Heim?* Berlin: Grosssiedlung e. V., 1930.

⁷²⁹ An additional paradox in Schwarz’s criticism was that concrete plans for postwar reconstruction were already issued in 1943 under Albert Speer and called precisely for pervasive standardization. The “Arbeitsstab für den Wiederaufbau bombenzerstörter Städte” included many then-famous architects, and some who later became known as the protagonists of German postwar modern “functionalism.” Among them were Julius Schulte-Frohlinde, Paul Schmitthenner, Hans Bernhard Reichow, Heinz Schmeissner, Wilhelm Schlegelndahl, Konstanty Gutschow, Helmut Hentrich, Friedrich Tamms, Peter Poelzig, and Herbert Rimpl. Hence, it is possible that 1950s buildings might not have looked remarkably different in a National Socialist postwar period.

Hackelsberger (1985), pp. 23–24, 33.

⁷³⁰ Moles, Abraham. “Die Krise des Funktionalismus.” *Ulm 19/20* (1967), p. 24.

⁷³¹ Berndt, Heide/Lorenz, Alfred/Horn, Klaus. *Architektur als Ideologie*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1968.

Nehls, Werner. “‘Die Heiligen Kühe des Funktionalismus müssen geopfert werden’ Thesen von Werner Nehls.” *Die Form*, vol. 43 (September 1968), p. 4. This entire issue of *Form* is dedicated to the “Functionalism-Debate.”

Müller, Sebastian. *Kunst und Industrie. Ideologie und Organisation des Funktionalismus in der Architektur*. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1974. (A critical review of the history of the Werkbund.)

Vogt, Adolf Max. “Woher kommt Funktionalismus?” *Werk/Archithese 3* (1977), pp. 23–30.

Kunstwerk habe niemanden zu gefallen, das Haus aber sei einem jeden verantwortlich") suggests.⁷³² By the early 1960s, city sociology had become a highly contentious topic.⁷³³ The formulation of arguments was further stimulated by the 1961 publication of the American Jane Jacobs' (1916-2006) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and sociologist Hans Paul Bahrdt's (1918-1994) *Die moderne Großstadt*.⁷³⁴ Both books invoke a fear of the decline of the "traditional" city, which is associated with the existence of lively, walkable neighborhoods in Jacobs' case and the model of medieval European cities in Bahrdt's case. Bahrdt's agenda was also to rehabilitate the negative image that cultural reactionaries had tried to give cities during the previous hundred years. His statements about the importance of the city were drastic and tapped into national (and international) fears for social stability and democracy, qualities that had not only redeemed Germans from their "irrational slip" into National Socialism but also provided the basis for a very comfortable lifestyle: "Mit falsch gebauten Städten kann man eine Gesellschaft und eine Demokratie genauso ruinieren wie durch die Errichtung eines totalitären Regimes."⁷³⁵

By leftist urbanists, *their* idea of the traditional city was framed as inevitably progressive, since they placed much emphasis on communication and long-term interpersonal relationships. In essence, however, many of their ideas were outdated with regards to contemporary social developments and dogmatic. Glorification of rural spaces was seen as potentially reactionary, whereas suburban developments were seen as the negative outgrowth of capitalism. Psychologist Alexander Mitscherlich's 1965 book *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte* specifically criticized the repetitive façades and building programs of postwar architecture as shallow: "Die Monotonie der Fensterreihung der meisten Hochhäuser und der starren Addition von Siedlungshäusern sind ein abstoßender Beweis für die schwache Fähigkeit, gestalterisch mit biologischen Prozessen (der Vermehrung) und den technologisch ausgelösten (der Ballung) Schritt zu halten."⁷³⁶

Mitscherlich's theses were generally well received among city planners and architects, not least since they ascribed great importance to the architectural profession. The confluence of the experience of architecture with psychology was of great interest for a short while, reflected, for instance in the work of semiotician Martin Krampen, who produced collages with which he tried

⁷³² Adorno, Theodor. Funktionalismus heute (1965) In: Adorno, Theodor. *Ohne Leitbild. Parva Aesthetica*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1970, pp. 104-127.

⁷³³ Herlyn, Ulfert. „Stadtsoziologische Literatur der letzten 50 Jahre.“ In: Bahrdt, Hans Paul. *Die moderne Großstadt. Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1998, pp. 211-240.

⁷³⁴ Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 1961.

⁷³⁵ Bahrdt, Hans Paul. *Die moderne Großstadt. Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau*. Hamburg: Wegner, 1969.

⁷³⁶ Mitscherlich, Alexander. *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte. Anstiftung zum Unfrieden*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1965, p. 19.

to semiotically decode urban surfaces (fig. 4.6).⁷³⁷ But others felt that architecture theory or architecture in itself could make very little difference, suggesting that society itself must change and that architecture can only follow. In the journal *Werk + Zeit*, Hans Schmitt-Rost asked:

Einheitliche Bedürfnisse erzeugen einheitliche Bauformen. Vielleicht ist die Gattung Mensch, die dort wohnt, nach der Tarifordnung für Angestellte eingegliedert, eintönig und langweilig? Aber wer möchte sich erdreisten, den Menschen ihre existentielle Mittelmäßigkeit zum Vorwurf zu machen. Das ist nun mal so. So ist die Wirklichkeit einer Gesellschaft aus Facharbeitern und Angestellten. Sie muss hingenommen werden. Ausserdem ist es gar nicht so, daß in diesen Wohnungen Unglückliche wohnen, daß viele an ihrer Behausung leiden.⁷³⁸

Neither Bahrdt's nor Mitscherlich's books, however, contained any images. It was Wolf Jobst Siedler's (b. 1926) book *Die gemordete Stadt* (1964) that began a debate based on visual and photographic polemics.⁷³⁹ The photographs in Siedler's book were taken by Elisabeth Niggemeyer and show lively Berlin street scenes in front of nineteenth-century façades, often populated by playing children and sweet-looking, smiling senior citizens. Juxtaposed with these images are counter-images of bland, empty urban spaces with postwar structures; other comparisons include a grid-like façade of cheap postwar residential building alongside a lamplit view of a historical river promenade with old-fashioned gas lanterns (fig. 4.7). The book implies that the liveliness and neighborhoodly feel of the city had been "murdered" by the economic forces driving modernization. Very little text is used in the book, which consists mostly of quotations of well-known German poets mixed with popular street rhymes romanticizing the life of petty-bourgeois and working-class city dwellers. Siedler returned to the metaphor of facelessness in order to describe new urban developments: "Die Stadt, in der man wohnte, spazierenging, arbeitete und auf deren Plätzen man die Geschicke des Gemeinwesens beriet, wurde durch das gesunde, anonyme, gesichtslose Wohngebiet ersetzt, in der es keine Bürger und keine Nachbarn mehr gibt."⁷⁴⁰ Entirely conscious of its potentially reactionary implications, Siedler describes his

⁷³⁷ In a sense, his work can be compared to attempts at "mapping" experiential spaces by Kevin Lynch or Martin Krampen.

Lynch, Kevin. *What time is this place?* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972, pp. 1, 64.

Krampen, Martin. *Meaning in the Urban Environment*. London: Pion, 1979.

⁷³⁸ Schmitt-Rost, Hans. "Sind unsere Städte unwirtlich?" *Werk und Zeit*, vol. 15, no. 6 (1965), p. 1.

⁷³⁹ Siedler, Wolf Jobst/Niggemeyer, Elisabeth/Angress, Gina. *Die gemordete Stadt. Abgesang auf Putte und Straße, Platz und Baum*. Berlin: Herbig, 1964.

The book was reedited in 1967, 1978 (revised), and 1993.

A follow-up was published in 1985:

Siedler, Wolf Jobst. *Die verordnete Gemütlichkeit. Abgesang auf Spielstraße, Verkehrsberuhigung und Stadtbildpflege. Der gemordeten Stadt II*. Berlin: Quadriga Verlag J. Severin, 1985.

⁷⁴⁰ Siedler/Niggemeyer/Angress (1964), p. 9.

perspective as an “ironic affection towards yesterday” through which he hoped to introduce the discussion of “emotional” aspects of the city into city planning instead of “aseptic orderliness.”⁷⁴¹

Several other books and exhibitions in the 1960s and early 1970s criticized postwar urban planning and suburban development.⁷⁴² The exhibition *Profitopolis* criticized suburban sprawl and the supposed disintegration of “communication centers” in cities and was illustrated through large-scale photomontages such as a child involved in an accident on a city street or a very old couple crossing a busy city street (fig. 4.8). But the Werkbund’s official journal, *Werk und Zeit*, was by far the most aggressive and confrontational in its visual criticism of postwar architecture. The September 1973 special issue about “Restoration” (“*Sanierung*”) shows the same image of two high rises repeated six times across the spread of the journal, creating the impression of an agglomeration of twelve nearly identical buildings and suggesting further repetition of even more such buildings. Another illustration is a photomontage of buttocks defecating functionalist buildings over Cologne (fig. 4.9).⁷⁴³ The December 1973 issue’s cover story, “*Die große Vernichtung. Der Zwang zum Konsum oder die freiwillige Bejahung der Freiheit*,” (“The Great Destruction: The Coercion to Consumption or the Voluntary Affirmation of Freedom”) was illustrated with an image of a car junk yard in front of high rises and the caption “*Die hochstapelnde Gesellschaft: Hochstapelung von Menschen und Müll*.”⁷⁴⁴ This equation of humans with trash is particularly shocking as it references the Holocaust and places postwar Germans in the role of the “victims” of capitalism.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴¹ Siedler liked to fashion himself as a controversial antimodernist and wrote in the foreword to the 1993 edition that he had once compared Corbusier to “Air-Marshall Harris” who had supposedly bombed Dresden.

Siedler/Niggemeyer/Angress (1964), pp. 5, 9.

⁷⁴² *Heimat Deine Häuser: Haben wir es richtig gemacht?* Exh. Cat. Stuttgart: Landesgewerbeamt Baden-Württemberg, 1963.

Uwe Schultz (ed.). *Umwelt aus Beton*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1971.

Profitopolis oder Der Mensch braucht eine andere Stadt. Eine Ausstellung über den miserablen Zustand unserer Städte und über die Notwendigkeit, diesen Zustand zu ändern, damit der Mensch wieder menschenwürdig in seiner Stadt leben kann. Exh. Cat. Munich: Die Neue Sammlung, 1972.

The term *Profitopolis* was also used by Hermann Glaser to describe nineteenth century urbanization. Glaser (1981), pp. 65-82.

Keller, Rolf. *Bauen als Umweltzerstörung*. Zurich: Artemis, 1973.

This book is Swiss. Keller used large, grainy black-and-white photographs to dramatize the “drabness” and “monotony” of contemporary cities and towns. The text is very aggressive and describes the influence of modern architecture on urban spaces as “degenerating” and “sick.”

⁷⁴³ *Werk und Zeit. Monatszeitung für Umweltgestaltung*, vol. 22, no. 8 (September 1973), pp. 3-5.

Werk und Zeit was edited by the Deutscher Werkbund.

⁷⁴⁴ *Werk und Zeit. Monatszeitung für Umweltgestaltung*, vol. 22, no. 12, (December 1973), p. 1.

⁷⁴⁵ The victimization of Germans vis-à-vis real estate development was the contentious issue surrounding the controversy about Rainer Werner Fassbinder’s 1975 play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod*, first staged in Frankfurt in 1985, which was accused of anti-Semitic portrayal of a Frankfurt developer, to whom

Social Documentary of the 1960s and 1970s

During the 1970s, exhibitions and publications evidence the renewed interest in the portrait as a mirror of everyday life and social structures. The 1976 exhibition *Porträts und Situationen*, for instance, showed portraits by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson dating from the mid-nineteenth century and compared them to photos by Sander and contemporary photographers Gabriele, Helmut Nothhelfer, and Roland Laboye, among others.⁷⁴⁶ The introductory text by Karl Steinorth begins: “Die Fotos dieser Ausstellung haben gemeinsam, daß sie die Situation von Menschen offenbaren – Situationen, die von allgemeiner Bedeutung sind und damit über die Relevanz eines einfachen Porträts oder Schnappschusses hinausgehen.”⁷⁴⁷ At the same time, leftist cultural criticism of “high art” had grown dominant during the 1960s in intellectual circles, resulting in a renewed interest in Marxist aesthetic theory and cultural criticism.⁷⁴⁸ The bourgeois cultural industry was ostracized and private bourgeois space was considered potentially reactionary.⁷⁴⁹ Instead, emancipatory critics aimed to promote “culture from below.”⁷⁵⁰ For the most part, this meant documenting the “everyday life” of those who were

Fassbinder had given the name “Rich Jew.”

The play had been based on a description of the Frankfurt “Häuserkampf” by Gerhard Zwerenz. Zwerenz himself had named specific developers, one of whom was Jewish, but opposed Fassbinder’s choice of words in his play.

Zwerenz, Gerhard. *Die Erde ist unbewohnbar wie der Mond*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1973.

For more on this topic see:

Special issue on the German-Jewish controversy *New German Critique* 38 (Spring/Summer 1986).

Weigel, Sigrid. “Shylock’s Wiederkehr. Die Verwandlung von Schuld in Schulden oder: Zum symbolischen Tausch der Wiedergutmachung.” In: Weigel, Sigrid/Erdle, Birgit (eds.). *Fünzig Jahre danach. Zur Nachgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus*. Zürich: vdf Hochschulverlag, 1996, pp. 165-192.

⁷⁴⁶ *Porträts und Situationen*. Exh. Cat. Haus am Waldsee, Berlin; Städtisches Museum, Leverkusen; Württembergischer Kunstverein, Stuttgart. Berlin: Reiter-Druck, 1976.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., n. p.

⁷⁴⁸ Adorno’s criticism of the fetishization of art as consumer goods, for instance, was widely received. “Die beschämende Differenz zwischen der Kunst und dem Leben, das sie leben und in dem sie nicht gestört werden wollen, weil sie den Ekel sonst nicht ertragen, soll verschwinden: das ist die subjektive Basis fuer die Einreihung der Kunst unter die Konsumgüter durch die vested interests.”

Adorno, Theodor W. *Aesthetische Theorie*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1970, p. 32

Also:

Holzer, Horst. *Kommunikationssoziologie*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1973.

⁷⁴⁹ Petsch, Joachim. “Anmerkungen zur bundesdeutschen Architektur und Architekturgeschichtsforschung nach 1945.” In: Petsch, Joachim (ed.). *Architektur und Städtebau im 20. Jahrhundert. Kapitalistischer Städtebau/Architektur und Informationsästhetik*. West Berlin: Verlag für das Studium der Arbeiterbewegung, 1972, pp. 9-34.

⁷⁵⁰ On the use of photography for sociological investigations in the US see Howard Becker’s article and bibliography. On the use of photography for sociological investigations in the US see Howard Becker’s articles and bibliographies.

Becker, Howard. “Visual Sociology, Documentary Photography.” *Visual Sociology* vol. 10, nos. 1-2

considered “below,” even though there had already been an important history of photography by workers in Germany, most notably in connection with the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*, which was founded in 1921 (originally under the title *Sowjet-Russland im Bild*) and became (with an alleged imprint of 500,000) the second-largest illustrated magazine in Germany.⁷⁵¹

During the 1960s and 70s, leftist politics and revisionist history led to special attention being paid to “workers’ environments” by sociologists, architects, and art historians.⁷⁵² In 1968, writer Erika Runge’s recordings of monologues by workers in the industrial town of Bottrop, the *Bottroper Protokolle*, were published by Suhrkamp, a publishing house known for its selection of sophisticated literature.⁷⁵³ Notable about the *Bottroper Protokolle* was not just the origination of its source material but also the printing of the transcripts in the “original worker’s language,” which was reflected in their idiomatic quality, colloquial choice of words, and sometimes confusing anecdotal structure. Most individuals describe their life story, and inevitably each of the stories references the leftist political views of the speakers such as “Clemens K. Betriebsratsvorsitzender,” who described himself as an “old communist.”⁷⁵⁴ For leftist intellectuals, it was important to associate themselves with a supposedly authentic leftist class (even though support for Hitler had generally been high among workers). In the preface by famous writer Martin Walser is a claim widely made by the left at the time; namely, that “the workers” did not have a voice and it was the duty of the creative class to change this. This duty became a lucrative enterprise, garnering status among the leftist intellectual scene in Western Germany. In an interview for a 2003 documentary, the writer Runge decried the immense

(1995), pp. 5-14.

Becker, Howard. “Photography and Sociology.” *Afterimage*, vol. 3, nos. 1-2 (May/June 1975), pp. 22-32.

⁷⁵¹ Stumberger, Rudolf. *Klassen-Bilder. Sozialdokumentarische Fotografie 1900-1945*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, pp. 125-7.

Hiepe, Richard. “Die Arbeiterklasse in der Fotografie.” In: Verband Arbeiterfotografie (ed.) *Arbeiterfotografie*. Berlin/West: Elefant Press, 1979.

Günter, Roland. *Fotografie als Waffe. Geschichte der sozialdokumentarischen Fotografie*. Hamburg: VSA, 1977.

On the interest in the everyday within history:

Lüdtke, Alf (ed.). *Alltagsgeschichte. Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1989.

In US, examples of photographic studies of “common” communities are, for example, *Paterson* by George Tice (1972), *Suburbia* by Bill Owen (1973), or David Plowden’s *Commonplace* (1974).

Westerbeck, Colin L. “How Others Live. Some Recent Photography Books.” *Artforum* (September 1976), pp. 40-45.

⁷⁵² Architectural historian Walter Buschmann even describes the interest in working class housing as “euphoria.”

Buschmann, Walter. „Wohn- und Arbeitersiedlungen im Rheinland. Ein 30jähriges Forschungsthema mit Vorgeschichte.“ In: Knopp, Gisbert/Sutthoff, Ludger (eds.) *Wohn- und Arbeitersiedlungen im Rheinland. Eine Zwischenbilanz aus denkmalpflegerischer Sicht*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2006, p. 32.

⁷⁵³ Runge, Erika. *Bottroper Protokolle*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1968.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

popularity of her “worker’s language” approach: “Links war ja gängig, war Erfolgskonzept, - rezept, und wer was auf sich hielt, förderte das, und ich konnte mich vor Aufträgen kaum retten.”⁷⁵⁵ The reason for the success of Runge’s book was that it provided an insight, however cliché, into the life of the Ruhr Valley worker’s life.

In Western Germany, nothing embodied the authentic working class space quite like the industrial Ruhr Valley, which was also referred to as the “*Revier*” (“territory”). As a result, other strongly industrialized regions of Germany such as the Sieg Valley received little attention or recognition. Residents of the Ruhr Valley region shared a certain regional pride. The Ruhr industrialized landscape had long fascinated photographers as early as the interwar period. In 1928, Max Paul Block published a collection of 300 black-and-white photographs by many different photographers, *Der Gigant an der Ruhr*, in the series *Das Gesicht der Städte*; in 1930 came Heinrich Hauser’s very critical book, entitled *Schwarzes Revier*, which included 127 photographs of run-down factories, housing, and weak workers.⁷⁵⁶ The image of the historically dirty Ruhr Valley was reinforced during and after World War II. The Nazi obsession with superficial cleanliness and wholesomeness provided an extreme counterpart to the work environment of the coal mines. The Nazi office “Schönheit der Arbeit” instead aimed to provide guidelines for “beautiful” work surroundings.⁷⁵⁷ According to curator Thomas Grochowiak, the image of Ruhr Valley as dirty and uncultivated persisted in the 1960s:

Irgendwo und überall außerhalb unseres Landes erfahren wir es immer wieder, daß man – wenn vom Ruhrgebiet die Rede ist – gelernt hat, sich der Fördertürme zu erinnern, and Kohlenstaub zu denken, an verdreckte Mietskasernen, sterbende Wälder, and Feuerscheine der Hochöfen, die die Nacht erleuchten wie Bombenbrände, and schwitzende Leiber, vielleicht auch an eigentlich überholte Schlagworte wie: Profitgier und Klassenkampf.⁷⁵⁸

Das goldene Dach (1952) by Eberhard Schulze was among the first postwar publications about the Ruhr Valley; it showed photographs of modest housing developments.⁷⁵⁹ According to S.

⁷⁵⁵ Schmidt, Andreas Christoph. “Was war links?”

Transcript of film at: <http://www.waswarlinks.de/folge4/kommentar4b.html>

⁷⁵⁶ Block, Max Paul (ed.). *Der Gigant an der Ruhr*. Berlin: Albertus Verlag, 1928. Photos by Ernst Angenendt, Theodor Arres, Ludwig Brodersen, Clemens v.d. Gathen, Paul Gathmann, Ernst Herzberg, Max Kaulfuss, Anton Meinholz, Fritz Mielert, Ernst Richter, Friedrich Schmieding, Otto Woesthoff et al. Hauser, Heinrich. *Schwarzes Revier*. Berlin: Fischer, 1930

⁷⁵⁷ In the postwar period, new and “clean” factory jobs came along with the rapid reindustrialization of West Germany. In addition, new “clean” energy sources like nuclear power plants made coal power plants (and coal mining for that matter) continued to make the heavy industry seem “dirty.”

⁷⁵⁸ Grochowiak, Thomas. “Imaginäres Museum Ruhrgebiet.” In: *Kunstwerke aus drei Jahrtausenden gesammelt im Ruhrgebiet. Ruhrfestspiele Recklinghausen 1963*. Exh. Cat. Recklinghausen: Städtische Kunsthalle Recklinghausen, 1963, n.p.

⁷⁵⁹ Schulz, Eberhard. *Das goldene Dach*. Munich: Steinebach, 1952.

Jonathan Wiesen, this book was an attempt to make capitalism appealing (and communism unnecessary) by implying that workers might be able to achieve home ownership.⁷⁶⁰ The two most well-known postwar books about the Ruhr Valley, however, were the 1958 *Im Ruhrgebiet* with texts by writer Heinrich Böll (1917-1985) and photographs by Carl-Heinz Hargesheimer, better known as Chargesheimer (1924-1971), and the 1959 *Ruhrgebiet – Porträt ohne Pathos* by journalist Helmuth de Haas (1928-1970) and photographer Fritz Fenzl (b. 1916).⁷⁶¹ Both books were printed in a large format, with high-quality reproductions and expensive linen-clad hardcovers. Chargesheimer had originally been interested in abstract photographic images and experiments, but he became very famous for the images in *Im Ruhrgebiet*, a large and elaborate photo book with 121 black-and-white reproductions and a prosaic text by Heinrich Böll. Many photos show scenes of people working or socializing, with a few “landscapes” – but nearly all images include houses or cities.⁷⁶² The photo of a postwar housing development, for instance, shows several postwar three- to five-story houses on an unpaved dirt road, one war-damaged building, several trashcans in the foreground, and only one very small blurred figure in the background (fig. 4.8). The composition hints that the figure is intently blurred and that the scene *should* actually be free of humans, which suggests a deliberate framing of pre- and postwar housing developments as cold and inhumane. But Böll’s text implies that Ruhr Valley towns only looked monotonous and generic to outsiders, and that locals could very well distinguish its different places:

Der Fremde, der neben dem Bergmann in der Straßenbahn saß, wusste nicht zu sagen, an welchem Ort er gerade war: ob in Katernberg oder Bottrop, in Gladbeck oder Rotthausen, in Schalke, Horst, Herne, Hassel oder Wattenscheid; diese jungen Städte glichen einander wie Säuglinge in der Kinderstation, sie gleichen einander zur scheinbar, denn so sicher wie Säuglinge eine haben, haben sie eine eigene Physiognomie.⁷⁶³

The photograph “Fußballplatz” reflects a nuanced image of the relationship between industrial production and local living situations (fig. 4.9). The image is composed of three receding layers: a background, consisting of two fully and one partially pictured large wood and steel cooling tanks

⁷⁶⁰ Wiesen, S. Jonathan. “Coming to Terms With the Worker: West German Industry, Labour Relations and the Idea of America, 1949-60.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 34, no. 4 (2001), p. 571. [561-579]

⁷⁶¹ Chargesheimer/Böll, Heinrich. *Im Ruhrgebiet*. Cologne/Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1958.

Fenzl, Fritz/Haas, Helmuth de. *Ruhrgebiet – Porträt ohne Pathos*. Stuttgart/Berlin: Europa Contact Gesellschaft für innereuropäische Beziehungen, 1959.

The bibliography of *Ruhrgebiet – Porträt ohne Pathos* lists 16 books about the Ruhrgebiet published between 1949 and 1958.

⁷⁶² Domröse, Ulrich (ed.). *Positionen künstlerischer Photographie in Deutschland seit 1945*. Exh. Cat. Berlin: Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berliner Festspiele GmbH, and Berlinische Galerie, 1998.

⁷⁶³ Chargesheimer/Böll (1958).

and one (smoking) brick smoke stack; three fully visible multiple-family residential buildings and an additional three only partially visible. The foreground, which takes up the bottom half of the image, shows a large open soccer field with eight young men and an umpire playing soccer. The soccer players are sporting coordinated uniforms even though there does not seem to be an official tournament, since the only spectators seem to be two men in matching dark coats and felt hats. The team seems to be an amateur team with the temporal and financial resources to pursue a hobby seriously. The most prominent residential building in the image is the newly built post-war structure, which is bland compared to the decorated Gründerzeit buildings next to it, but features a clean façade and white, new window frames as well as several chimneys, suggesting a heating system more sophisticated than coal ovens.

According to journalist Dieter Thoma, *Im Ruhrgebiet* offended some locals in the 1960s because they began to identify less with the visual heritage of heavy industry; instead, they yearned for a more picturesque representation in tune with common 1950s national themes of recreation and preindustrial historical tradition.⁷⁶⁴ An article in the journal *Ruhrgebiet* by Hannsferdinand Döbler chided *Im Ruhrgebiet* for being overly dramatic and “subjectivist” by presenting “large, often mean, always rough images [to] tell the story of a fantastically hideous and ugly Ruhr Valley.”⁷⁶⁵

Fenzl and de Haas seemed to respond to such criticism even with their title, *Ruhrgebiet – Porträt ohne Pathos*. And indeed, Döbler found the book less offensive and considered its photographs “objectivist,” apparently because the photographer less obviously attempted to be artistic.⁷⁶⁶ The book contains 180 black-and-white photographs, which look more like amateur photos. In addition many of them focus not on buildings, but on social or work scenes, which does not register as pathos with Döbler at the time. In his foreword, local functionary Dr. Josef Umlauf (*Verbandsdirektor Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk*) voices his appreciation for the deemphasizing of the region’s modes of production: “[Dieser Band ergibt] Ein Gesamtbild, ein

⁷⁶⁴“Als Chargesheimer das Revier fotografierte, wenn das Fernsehen Filme dreht, dann melden sich gleich die Empörten. Warum denn immer wieder die Industriekulisse, warum Fördertürme, Wäscheleinen und Eckkneipen statt Booten auf dem Baldeneysee, Fachwerkhäusern und Freizeitparks? [...] Während die alten Probleme wie wucherndes Wachstum, Einwandererland, Goldgräbermilieu, wenig soziale Sicherheit versickerten, eine neuer Ruhrgebietsmensch mit einem neuen Heimatgefühl entstand, wuchs gleichzeitig eine neue Empfindlichkeit gegenüber der eigenen Tradition als Industriegebiet. Früher wurden Postkarten verschickt mit diesen gigantischen Industriekolossen, der mit Rauchfahnen geschmückten Stadtsilhouette, war man stolz darauf, galten rauchende Schloten als Beweis für Leistung und sicheres Einkommen.”

Thoma however does also comment on the pride of the remaining mining workers.

Thoma, Dieter. “Im Ruhrgebiet.” In: Wilde (1982), pp. 6-7.

⁷⁶⁵ Döbler, Hannsferdinand. “ruhrgebiet – real gesehen? Kritische Anmerkungen zu den Bildbänden von Fenzl und Chargesheimer.” *Ruhrgebiet*, vol. 2, no. 1, (1960), pp. 42-47.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 42-47.

Portät ohne Pathos, in dem der Mensch die erste und tragende Rolle spielt – ausdrücklich realistisch, also frei von ideologischer Betonung, von scheinwahrer Romantik, von heroisierender Übertreibung. Ein Werk, das weder verhäßlicht noch zu verniedlichen gedenkt.”⁷⁶⁷ The photograph “Randzone, Miners’ Families, Avenue” is a photograph of life on a small street lined by brick housing taken from an interior perspective (fig. 4.10). (As in many West German architecture books of the era, captions were given in German, English, and French.)

The embarrassment about the ugliness of the Ruhr Valley was also caused by its decline in economical prowess. While all reserves were mobilized for reconstruction during the 1950s benefiting the Ruhr Valley industry, the late 1950s to mid-1960s brought the advent of rationalization and demontage of outdated and unprofitable mines, leading to the loss of tens of thousands of jobs. Helmuth de Haas described the Ruhr Valley as a space that was cheated out of cultivated space by technological progress:

Hier im Ruhrgebiet fand der Fortschritt niemals die Zeit, sich zu vermenschlichen, sich in gepflegte Zwischengelände, in Wohnraumkultur und zwingende Straßenbauplanung zu übersetzen. Er stampfte hervor; er trümmerte; er wollte immer alles zu schnell. Er baute zweckhaft, aber nicht sinnvoll. Denn er schleuderte ohne Kunstverstand, ohne Glück, ohne Liebe, ohne Großzügigkeit hin, was er brauchte. Erst heute, als Fortschritt armselig geworden ist, wagt er zu fragen, nach Schönheit zu fragen.⁷⁶⁸

According to de Haas beauty was now accessible to the Ruhr Valley at an increased rate through art: “Millionenbeträge sind für die Kultur, sind für die Künste da. Sie sind Teil des öffentlichen Lebens geworden, mit der Chance, es zu durchdringen.”⁷⁶⁹ And indeed, the mining and steel industry located around the Ruhr Valley was interested in promoting “culture.” Several important cultural venues and regular events, such as the theater festival *Ruhrfestspiele*, had been established after the war. The *Ruhrfestspiele* were first held in 1948 out of gratitude for deliveries of coal to the Hamburg theatres in the winter of 1946-1947. Later, the city of Recklinghausen and the German union (DGB) decided to hold the festival annually with the aim to “educate” workers.⁷⁷⁰ Art displays were added in 1950 “because miners had a connection to images, since many of them painted in their free time themselves.”⁷⁷¹ An exhibition of the Duisburger Kupferhütte in 1952, *Eisen und Stahl*, bore the motto: “Das Ziel der Wirtschaft ist der freie Mensch.” As

⁷⁶⁷ Fenzl/Haas (1959), p. 5.

⁷⁶⁸ Haas, Helmuth de. “Der Zeit Gewinn.” In: Fenzl/Haas (1959), p. 10.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁷⁷⁰ Rößler-Lelickens, Sybille. *Die Kunstaustellungen der Ruhrfestspiele der fünfziger Jahre in der Städtischen Kunsthalle Recklinghausen*. Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1991.

⁷⁷¹ Interview with Thomas Grochowiak by Gabriele Lueg. In: Honnef/Schmidt (1985), p. 504.

evidence for this claim, the exhibition included figurative paintings and drawings of industrial plants by workers.⁷⁷² And the title of the 1971 *Ruhrfestspiele* exhibition was *Funktionelle Skulpturen. Gußformen und Werkmodelle unbekannter Ingenieure und Werkmeister aus Stahlwerken des Ruhrgebiets*. The catalogue shows photos of large casting molds and features descriptions of the processes for casting technique that “are not only practical, but have formal clarity, intellectual logic, and consistent design.”⁷⁷³ But events such the *Ruhrfestspiele* art exhibitions that claimed to be “for the worker” were always controversial. In the late 1970s, when the unions wanted only that art to be represented which directly reflected the aims of the unions, its main curator Grochowiak resigned.⁷⁷⁴ The caption under a photograph of artists conversing with “workers” in the 1979 publication *Kunst und Öffentlichkeit* read: “Kunst im Betrieb: Eine Chance für Kreativität oder Feigenblatt des Kapitalismus?”⁷⁷⁵

The West German cultural establishment and the general public took little interest in workers’ art, but “authentic” reports of the workers’ everyday lives remained popular. One of the most important authors of such reportages was the journalist Günter Wallraff. Among the many books he published, the 1979 collaborative book *Unsere Fabrik* placed a particular emphasis on photographic representations of situations and social “types” associated with medium to large industrial production facilities. The texts and images emphasize the cold, and by extension alienating atmosphere at the factory. On the other hand, the sense of alienation at the workplace implies the necessity of a more homely residential space. Quotations from other books by Wallraff, which describe his undercover work in several factories from the worker’s perspective, preface a section of 52 black-and-white photographs by Oren Schmuckler with corresponding texts by poet Max Grün. Schmuckler’s photographs show bland and desolate scenes such as potted plants in front of a bare office window.⁷⁷⁶ Though the texts are written by Max Grün, they are written in the first person singular, suggesting that this was the statement of the camera’s subject: one photo shows a young, tired-looking female worker in a frock, without makeup or hairdo, posed at a table in front of factory machinery. The small, rough-hewn table upon which a young worker leans is covered with a tablecloth and stimulants of various sorts: cigarettes, instant

⁷⁷² *Eisen und Stahl*. Exh. Cat. Duisburg: Duisburger Kupferhütte, 1952.

⁷⁷³ Gräsel, Friedrich. “Kunst aus der Arbeitswelt?” In: *Funktionelle Skulpturen. Gußformen und Werkmodelle unbekannter Ingenieure und Werkmeister aus Stahlwerken des Ruhrgebiets*. Exh. Cat. Recklinghausen: Kunsthalle Recklinghausen, 1971, n.p.

⁷⁷⁴ Rößler-Lelickens (1991), p. 28.

⁷⁷⁵ Wenk, Sybille. “Kunst im Betrieb.” In: Internationale Gesellschaft der Bildenden Künste (ed.). *Kunst und Öffentlichkeit*. Berlin: Elefanten Press Verlag, p. 294.

⁷⁷⁶ Walraff, Günther/Schmuckler, Oren/Grün, Max von der. *Unsere Fabrik*. Lucerne and Frankfurt/Main: Bucher 1979, n.p.

coffee, sugar, a sandwich, and deodorant – these, the image suggests, are the few luxury articles the world of work affords her. Juxtaposed with this image is a haiku-style poem with mythological allusions: “Teile die Zeit: Für Schönheit, Genuß und Wohlbefinden. Decke Deinen Tisch mit Gütern dieser Erde. Die Sirene mahnt mich: Steh auf!” While the addition of such a poem was most likely considered an empowerment of the worker by giving him a sophisticated voice, the bourgeois style and content of the text seem disjointed from the person in the picture, thus revealing the difficulty in picturing “the worker.”⁷⁷⁷

Picturing Industrial Spaces

Architectural photography finally became a means to describe and picture the German working class through their housing. Architectural photographs showed social situations, but were often a means to promote preservationist interests. Two of the first such attempts were Günther Borchers’ successful books *Arbeitersiedlungen 1* and *Arbeitersiedlungen 2*, published in 1971 and 1972.⁷⁷⁸ The cover of *Arbeitersiedlungen 1* showed an image of playing children, suggesting the lively character of such residential areas. Borchers, however, was of the opinion that social planning could not be part of preservation.⁷⁷⁹ An important preservationist himself, who held the high-level public position of *Landeskonservator* of the Rhineland, he succeeded in listing the mid to late nineteenth-century housing development in Eisenheim, a mining town in the Ruhr Valley area, as a historical monument.

Leftist preservationist Roland Günter saw himself as an activist and produced several publications, including extensive photodocumentations. Together with his wife Janne Günter and Jörg Boström, he completed several projects attempting to show architecture and the manner in which it was used by its inhabitants; they also instigated “people’s initiatives” to save late nineteenth-century housing.⁷⁸⁰ In his 1973 publication *Eisenheim 1844-1972* Günter claims that

⁷⁷⁷ On the possibilities for the representation of workers:

Lüdtke, Alf. “Industriearbeit in historischen Fotografien. Zu den Chancen einer ‘visuellen Geschichte’.” *Journal für Geschichte*, no. 3 (1986), pp. 25-31.

⁷⁷⁸ Borchers, Günther (ed.). *Arbeitersiedlungen 1+2*. Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1975.

These were the first in a series of publications on industrial architecture by Borchers. A second edition of *Arbeitersiedlungen* was published in 1975.

⁷⁷⁹ Kierdorf/Hassler (2000), p. 184.

⁷⁸⁰ Günter, Roland/Boström, Jörg. *Eisenheim 1844-1972*. Berlin: Verlag für das Studium der Arbeiterbewegung, 1973.

Günter also participated in the 1978 publication *Alltag*, the first Yearbook of Social Documentary Photography that included images by many different photographers.

Alltag 1. Jahrbuch der sozialdokumentarischen Fotografie. Hamburg: Claussen & Bosse, 1978.

his motivation was to “save” the workers’ red brick housing development of Eisenheim.⁷⁸¹ Janne and Roland Günter’s documentary images show residents performing everyday housekeeping tasks as well as recreational tasks in specific architectural settings.⁷⁸² Günter did not refer to the photographs as documentary but instead acknowledged that he was pushing a very specific leftist political agenda. The Günters called the series of these types of images “Katalog-Fotografie,” and one of their studies carried the subtitle *Denkmalschutz als Sozialschutz*, suggesting that preservation was a quasi-ethnographic pursuit to protect (and manifest) the image of the working class.⁷⁸³ But the Günter photographs often include playing children accompanied by women strolling pedestrian streets, or adult males in leisurely conversation. They do not show people at work or the tinge of class warfare and anger palpable in Renger-Patzsch’s or Sander’s photos. Günter nonetheless considered these photographs a “weapon” in class warfare:

Über Tätigkeits- und Kommunikationsstrukturen wurde lange Zeit bewußt nicht nachgedacht.... Nun sind alle gezwungen, sich damit auseinander zu setzen. Arbeiter im Ruhrgebiet begannen [durch die soziale Architekturphotographie] zum Beispiel zu durchschauen, daß die Zerstörung von Wohnbereichen weitaus umfangreicher ist, als sie bisher annahmen. Die Fotos waren eines der Aufweckmittel eine Abwehrstrategie. Sie wurden zur Waffe. Die Funktionseliten erhielten ‘Steine in den Weg’. Aus diesen Kämpfen entwickelten wir systematisch die Sozialfotografie.⁷⁸⁴

Also:

Schlaffer, Heinz. *Der Bürger als Held*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1973.

⁷⁸¹ Günter, Roland/Boström, Jörg. *Eisenheim 1844-1972*. Berlin: Verlag für das Studium der Arbeiterbewegung, 1973.

⁷⁸² Günter, Janne and Roland. “Architekturelemente und Verhaltenweisen der Bewohner. Denkmalschutz als Sozialschutz.” In: Greverus (1976), pp. 7-56.

Günter, Roland and Janne. “Soziale Architektur und ihre Elemente.” *ARCH+* 42 (1978), pp. 31-43.

Günter, Roland and Janne. “Wohnumfeld-Verbesserung. Ein Katalog von Elementen sozialer Öffentlichkeit. *ARCH+*, nos. 43-44 (1979), pp. 35-61.

Günter, Roland and Janne. *Leben in Eisenheim. Arbeit, Kommunikation und Sozialisation in einer Arbeitersiedlung*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1989.

Uta Hassler and Alexander Kierdorf suggest that Günter was somewhat motivated by a projection of a social utopia of a “heile Arbeiterwelt.”

Kierdorf/Hassler (2000), p. 156.

⁷⁸³ Günter, Janne and Roland. “Architekturelemente und Verhaltenweisen der Bewohner. Denkmalschutz als Sozialschutz.” In: Greverus (1976), pp. 7-56.

Günter, Roland. “Architektur-Fotografie im gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhang.” In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 20, Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981, p. 130.

⁷⁸⁴ But while Günter claims to be on the side of the workers, his rhetoric is extremely patronizing and simplistic.

Günter, Roland. “Architektur-Fotografie im gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhang.” In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 20, Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981, p. 130-2.

Günter simply assumed that Eisenheim's residents identify with their housing, which he unrealistically frames as an ideal and harmonious utopia, and assumes that residents want that housing to remain where it is. In addition, he suggested that close quarters enhance communication rather than harboring a threat to social control. More importantly, Günter's statement manifests the impermeability of Western European class society: it was assumed that workers wanted (and had) to stay in lower-class housing. Rather than seeing mass workers' housing as a transitional space, Günter saw it as a permanent, generational space.⁷⁸⁵ A montage in the 1976 *Arbeiterinitiativen* shows a wealthy developer's hand putting turn-of-the-century workers' housing into a meat grinder (fig. 4.11).⁷⁸⁶ In fact, the relatively new economic conditions that had generated worker's housing were never stable.⁷⁸⁷ War damages to industry in the Ruhr area were surprisingly minimal; only a few blast furnaces, machines and one steel-mill had been destroyed. Work at the mines began within a few weeks of May 8, 1945. More damaging had been the Nazi neglect of the coal mining industry in favor of industries directly connected to the production of weapons. After the war, most remaining miners had grown old, and almost half of the miners in the entire Ruhr area were forced laborers, most of whom left in the months after the war. Already by April 1945, 128,000 of the 256,000 miners had abandoned work. They were, however, quickly replaced by refugees from the former Eastern territories. Due to its lack of agriculture, the Ruhr area was particularly hard hit by the shortage of food and was helped by an American emergency program in the British zone to a special allocation of coffee, tea, and cigarettes so that work might continue on the *Wiederaufbau*. By 1947, the standard of living was higher than in many other parts of Germany and work at the mines was attractive, but with decline of coal in favor of oil, the industry faltered again during the 1960s.⁷⁸⁸

The interest in industrial architecture also grew in other Western European countries, most notably in Great Britain, where the discipline of industrial archeology originated in the

⁷⁸⁵ Workers and their ways were treated as an ethnographic study object. Janne Günter's book *Arbeitersprache als Ausdruck spezifischer Qualitäten* included transcripts of interviews with "workers." Günter claimed workers language was "direct," and characterized by "short, simple sentences, repetitions," "spontaneity" "diversity," "rhythm, melody, facial expression, gestures" and usually included references to "own experience." Most importantly, the booklet included a sequence of black-and-white photographs of a male subject's gestures and facial expressions while speaking Günter, Janne. *Arbeitersprache als Ausdruck spezifischer Qualitäten*. Oberhausen: Forschungsstelle Eisenheim für Arbeiterwohnen im Ruhrgebiet, 1975.

⁷⁸⁶ Günter, Roland. *Arbeiterinitiativen*. Westberlin: VSA, 1976.

⁷⁸⁷ Petzina, Dietmar. "Wirtschaft und Arbeit im Ruhrgebiet 1945 bis 1985." In: Köllmann, Wolfgang et al. (eds.). *Das Ruhrgebiet im Industriezeitalter: Geschichte und Entwicklung*. Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1990, p. 520.

⁷⁸⁸ Abelshauser, Werner. "Von der Mangelwirtschaft zum 'Wirtschaftswunder.' Wiederaufbau an Rhein und Ruhr." In: Honnef/Schmidt (1985), pp. 43-47.

1950s and led to extensive detailed surveys of industrial regions during the 1960s.⁷⁸⁹ One of the sources of this interest in previously forgotten material remnants of the industrial revolution was the emancipatory interest in writing “culture from below.”⁷⁹⁰ In addition to the *object* of investigation, new and comprehensive survey methods were considered important. Industrial archaeologists like Kenneth Hudson suggested the practice of oral history as a survey technique for the new discipline of industrial archeology.⁷⁹¹ From a very early point in the history of its establishment as a discipline, the Bechers’ photographs of industrial structures were used to illustrate scholarly contributions to the subject, and were even suggested as models for its practices of documentation.⁷⁹² The Bechers’ photographs were also printed in the standard

⁷⁸⁹ According to Vincent Foley, the term was coined in 1953 by the British archeologist Donald Dudley. Foley, Vincent. “The Meaning of Industrial Archeology.” *Historical Archeology* 2 (1968), pp. 66-68. Among the first books to be published in Britain were:

Hudson, Kenneth. *Industrial Archeology: An Introduction*. London: Baker, 1963.

Pannell, John Percival Masterman. *The Techniques of Industrial Archeology*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1966.

The British journal *Industrial Archeology* was published between 1964 and 1974.

The first book to be published in the US was by Theodore Sande:

Sande, Theodore. *Industrial Archeology: A New Look at the American Heritage*. Brattleboro: Stephen Greene Press, 1976.

In the US, the journal *Technology and Culture* had been published since 1959. Here, the interest in vernacular architecture stems from a similar motivation to revise architectural history and is marked, for instance, by Bernard Rudofsky’s 1964 *Architecture Without Architects*.

Rudofsky, Bernard. *Architecture Without Architects*. Exh. Cat. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964.

Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

On early nineteenth and twentieth century industrial photography:

Crinson, Mark. “Photography and the Industrial City: Manchester and Salford, Ancient and Modern.” *Word & Image* (U.K.), vol. 18, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 2002), pp. 295-31.

⁷⁹⁰ This emancipatory aspect is evident in the title of a report in a popular magazine:

Burton, Anthony. “The Other Side of Our History.” *Daily Telegraph Magazine* (March 30, 1973), pp. 42-43.

Bracegirdle, Brian (ed.). *The Archeology of the Industrial Revolution*. London: Heinemann Educational, 1973.

⁷⁹¹ Hudson, Kenneth. *Handbook for Industrial Archeologists*. London: Baker, 1967, p. 51.

The term *industrial archeology* had been coined in 1955 by British historian Michael Rix.

Rix, Michael. “Industrial Archeology.” *Amateur Historian* 2 (1955), pp. 225-229. Only a few German historians began using the term:

I.e. Paulinyi, Akos. *Industriearchäologie: neue Aspekte der Wirtschafts- und Technikgeschichte*.

Dortmund: Gesellschaft für westfälische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1975.

⁷⁹² Becher, Hilla. “Documenting Industrial History by Photography.” *Industrial Archeology*, vol. 5, no. 4, (November 1968), pp. 353-360, 373-377.

Their photos of cooling towers, gas holders, lime kilns, and collieries were also published by Kenneth Hudson in his first international overview, *A Guide to the Industrial Archeology of Europe*.

Hudson (1971), figs. 51,54, 58-61.

Also:

Bracegirdle, Brian. “Industrial Archeology and Photography: An Account of a Course at Flatford Mill.” *Industrial Archeology* 8 (February 1971), pp. 14-24.

Milligan, H. “The Photographic Aspects of Industrial Archeology.” *Journal of Industrial Archeology* (August 1964).

German publication *Einführung in die Industriearchäologie* (fig. 4.12).⁷⁹³ Their collaborative work was represented as a model for the documentation of industrial structures in professional journals such as *Bauwelt*, *Werk und Zeit*, and *Montan Zement*.⁷⁹⁴ Later, their work was explicitly associated with industrial archeology by authors who wanted to emphasize their “analytic” approach.⁷⁹⁵ In fact, the production of images of industrial structures was not entirely new; German scholars in particular had been interested in industrial history and architecture since the early twentieth century. However, their motivations had been technological fascination and an interest in establishing Germany’s image as a technologically advanced nation.⁷⁹⁶ The Verein Deutscher Ingenieure (VDI), founded in 1856, was very interested in technical history and promoted various publications and institutions documenting industrial architecture.⁷⁹⁷ (Bernd

⁷⁹³ Slotta uses images of the mines San Fernando-Wolf by Herford, Scharnhorst by Dortmund, and Hermine by Landsweiler.

Slotta, Rainer. *Einführung in die Industriearchäologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982, figs. 27a, 47, 48.

⁷⁹⁴ Kahmen, Volker. “Möglichkeiten einer Dokumentation der Industriearchitektur.” *Werk und Zeit*, nos. 7/8, (1965), pp. 3-5.

Kahmen, Volker. “Industriefachwerk—Beitrag zu einer Morphologie des Siegerlandes.” *Bauwelt*, vol. 57, nos. 1-2, (January 10, 1966), pp. 21-33.

Images were also printed in trade magazines such as *Montan Zement*, no. 1, 1964 and no. 2, 1965, and *Gasverwendung. Zeitschrift für neuzeitliche Energieversorgung*, vol 27, no. 1 (1967).

⁷⁹⁵ Hagen, Charles. “Making Industrial Buildings Look Like Butterflies.” *New York Times*, (January 22, 1993), p. C15.

In several instances, Becher mentions he is interested in the preservation of industrial structures, but that the production of images was his main commitment.

Siegelaub, Seth. “The context of art / the art of context: artists on art, the art world & life since 1969.” *Kunst & museumjournaal* (English ed.), vol. 7, nos. 1-3 (1996), p. 65.

⁷⁹⁶ C.f. Hudson, Kenneth. *A Guide to the Industrial Archeology of Europe*. Madison et al.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971, p. 163.

Michael Mack, for instance, claims that the desire to preserve buildings was one main motivations for industrial photography. Germany, however, had a long tradition of industrial photographs that originated when the buildings were built or in use.

Mack, Michael (ed.). *Reconstructing Space: Architecture in Recent German Photography*. Exh. Cat. London: Architectural Association, 1999.

⁷⁹⁷ Already around the middle of the nineteenth century, industrialization was held in high esteem, which is reflected in the visual arts. Early images of industrial plants and scenes were often commissioned by industrialists themselves, for instance for promotional purposes or company anniversaries. Such company-commissioned black-and-white photographs of industrial scenes tended to suggest a solemnity (“Beschaulichkeit”) of industry itself, suppressing the dynamicism, pace, and danger the production process often entailed and which particularly paintings and film (esp. futurist, surrealist, or expressionist works of the early nineteenth century) had often emphasized.

See:

Beneke, Sabine/ Ottomeyer, Hans (eds.). *Die zweite Schöpfung. Bilder der industriellen Welt vom 18. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart*. Exh. Cat. Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2002.

Steinhauser, Monika. “Traditionslinien.” In: Steinhauser, Monika / Hemken, Kai-Uwe (eds.). *Bernd und Hilla Becher. Industriephotographie. Im Spiegel der Tradition*. Exh. Cat. Düsseldorf: Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1994, pp. 9-22.

Matz, Reinhard (ed.). *Industriefotografie. Aus den Firmenarchiven des Ruhrgebiets*. Essen: Bracht, 1987, p. 7.

Becher had begun collecting company photographs from defunct offices around the Sieg Valley in the mid-1950s.⁷⁹⁸) While some, like the founder of the *Heimatschutzbewegung* Ernst Rudorff, only criticized the effects of industrialization on the landscape, other preservationists such as Friedrich Wilhelm Bredt acknowledged technical structures as monuments worthy of preservation.⁷⁹⁹ Founded in 1910, the journal *Der Industriebau* was published by Scholtz in Leipzig until 1931 and regularly showed old and new industrial structures. The interest in defining single industrial monuments beginning around 1900 was followed by well-organized systematic attempts to document industrial structures by the early 1920s.⁸⁰⁰ In 1923, the Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz, the Deutscher Werkbund, the VDI, and the Gesellschaft für Bauingenieurwesen all supported Werner Lindner in publishing the first comprehensive overview of technical structures in Germany. The book, *Die Ingenieurbauten in ihrer guten Gestaltung* (1923), includes 250 images of industrial structures, including sketches of historical structures such as the “Turm zu Babylon,” churches, gasometers, and mills.⁸⁰¹ Lindner did not take his own photographs but apparently received his images from the companies’ engineers or architects, which explains the photographs’ focus on single structures and good quality. In Lindner’s opinion, technical structures were particularly fascinating because engineers were untarnished by artistic concerns:

Nur der kann bauen, der zu konstruieren versteht, und Kunstwerke glücken nur dem, der die Konstruktion zu beseelen vermag. Daß aber ungeahnte Formen sich folgerichtig und gleichsam von selbst ergeben, verraten Leistung von Ingenieuren, die unbekümmert um Hin- und Herraten und Kunstästhetisiererei sachlich und mit natürlichen Empfinden arbeiten. Es sind bisweilen Werke von so klarer, packender, überzeugender Wirkung, daß die heutigen Architekten ihnen kaum ebenbürtiges zur Seite stellen können. Man vergegenwärtige sich z.B. die schöne, überwältigend groteske Phantastik mancher Krane und Verladebrücken, die lediglich aus organisch entwickelter Konstruktion und

Wagner, Monika. “Die neue Welt der Dampfmaschine. Industriebilder des 19. Jahrhunderts.” In: Friedel, Helmut (ed.). *Kunst und Technik in den 20er Jahren. Neue Sachlichkeit und Gegenständlicher Konstruktivismus*. Exh. Cat. Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 1980, pp. 12-29. Exhibitions of industrial images were popular in Germany during the 1970s. *Industrie und Technik in der deutschen Malerei*. Exh. Cat. Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1969. *Industriebilder aus Westfalen*. Exh. Cat. Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 1979. *Die Industrialisierung der Stadt*. Exh. Cat. Berlin: Neuer Berliner Kunstverein 1979. *Aus Schacht und Hütte. Ein Jahrhundert Industrierarbeit im Bild 1830-1930*. Exh. Cat. Recklinghausen: Kunsthalle Recklinghausen 1980.

⁷⁹⁸ Ziegler, Ulf Erdmann. “The Bechers’ Industrial Lexicon.” (Interview). *Art in America* (June 2002), p. 97.

⁷⁹⁹ Kierdorf/Hassler (2000), pp. 33-34.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 55-56.

⁸⁰¹ Lindner, Werner (ed.). *Die Ingenieurbauten in ihrer guten Gestaltung*. Berlin: Wasmuth, 1923.

vollster, auf den ersten Blick klar erkennbarer Zweckmäßigkeit erwächst und ebensowenig einer Wirkung verstärkenden Zutat wie einer das Verständnis ermöglichenden Erklärung bedarf.⁸⁰²

In his early work, Lindner was not at all dismissive of modern architecture, but very interested in modern industrial forms. He cited Le Corbusier (“*Geist der Ordnung, Einheit des Gestaltungswillens, Sinn für Zusammenhänge*”) and printed a photo of Gropius’ Fagus factory building in Alfeld in his 1927 *Bauten der Technik. Ihre Form und Wirkung. Werkanlagen*, a photo book showing 614 examples of industrial architecture.⁸⁰³

The 1932 *Technische Kulturdenkmale* was published by Werner Lindner and Conrad Matschoss (1871-1942), the latter an engineer who had published a history of the steam engine in 1908 with the support of the VDI.⁸⁰⁴ It was the first book in which technical historical structures were defined as monuments and was the result of an effort by the *Deutsches Museum* in Munich to document and archive technical structures through the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft technischer Industriedenkmale* (founded 1928), which also included the *Bund Heimatschutz*.⁸⁰⁵ The book includes texts by Matschoss, Lindner, Hans v. u. z. Loewenstein, Otto Petersen, Carl Schiffner, and August Hertwig, along with 248 photos of industrial structures from municipal archives and individual photographers. Each photograph includes a detailed caption. About twenty photos are by Lindner himself. The book includes images of factory interiors in which workers or artisans are at work. The book was not popular: though copies were widely distributed, there were still 1,200 of the 5,000 printed copies left in 1939.⁸⁰⁶ Until 1972 the *Technische Kulturdenkmale*

⁸⁰² Ibid., p. 12.

⁸⁰³ Lindner, Werner. *Bauten der Technik. Ihre Form und Wirkung. Werkanlagen*. Berlin: Wasmuth, 1927, pp. 17 and 213.

In 1909, Lindner had been a lecturer and later a professor at the Technische Universität Berlin, the first German university to establish the discipline of “Technikgeschichte.” Werner Lindner was also a managing director of the *Bund deutscher Heimatschutz*. The Bund was incorporated into the *Reichsbund Volkstum und Heimat* in 1934. After 1939, Lindner became the head of the National Socialist “Arbeitsgemeinschaft Heimat und Haus,” which published the series “Die landschaftlichen Grundlagen des deutschen Bauschaffens.” (The three volumes include: *Das Dorf, Die Stadt, Der Osten* and were published by Callwey between 1938 and 1940.)

⁸⁰⁴ In 1928, Matschoss wrote the Satzung for the “Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Erhaltung technischer Kulturdenkmäler” which was founded by the Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz, the VDI, and the Deutsches Museum in Munich.

Matschoss, Conrad. “Technische Kulturdenkmäler Satzung des Vereins.” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technik* 18 (1928), p. 19.

⁸⁰⁵ According to Conrad Matschoss, Oskar von Miller, the founder of the Deutsches Museum, coined the term “Technische Kulturdenkmale” and was also influential in initiating a project to document and archive technical monuments in 1927.

Matschoss, Conrad/Lindner, Werner (eds.). *Technische Kulturdenkmale*. Im Auftrag der Agricola-Gesellschaft beim Deutschen Museum. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁰⁶ Kierdorf/Hassler (2000), p. 37.

remained the only publication including technical monuments from all over Germany.⁸⁰⁷ The introduction by Conrad Matschoss begins with paintings as a model for the appreciation of technical structures:

Wer die Werke der Malerei in den europäischen Kunstsammlungen auf sich wirken läßt, wird, wenn er sich liebevoll in das Gegenständliche des Bildes vertieft, erstaunt sein, zu sehen, wie oft die Maler aller Zeiten Anlagen der Technik in ihren Bildern wiedergegeben haben: Wasserräder am Bach, Windmühlen in der Ebene, ganz abgesehen von den Tausenden von Schiffen, die im Laufe der Jahrhunderte Gegenstand künstlerischer Darstellung waren.... In früheren Zeiten war die Technik etwas Naturnotwendiges und Naturgegebenes und fügte sich planvoll in den Rahmen des menschlichen Daseins ein. Nicht von einer Vernichtung des Landschaftsbildes, sondern oft von einer Hervorhebung könnte man reden. Aber vielleicht sind, als die ersten Windmühlen aufkamen, sie nicht als schön empfunden worden, wenn man sich angesichts der Notwendigkeit, sie für den Menschen arbeiten zu lassen, überhaupt den Kopf zerbrochen hat über die Frage, ob schön oder nicht schön.⁸⁰⁸

In 1909, Karl Ernst Osthaus, the founder of the Folkwang Museum in Hagen, had also founded the Deutsches Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hagen, whose sole purpose was to collect and document innovative industrial products. The museum held international exhibitions and also had established a *Photographien- und Diapositivzentrale* in 1910, an archive which included many architectural photos.⁸⁰⁹ According to Ann and Jürgen Wilde, this department, in connection with the *Propaganda- und Illustrationszentrum* of the *Werkbund* and the Berlin publisher Franz Stoedtner, produced a “visual thesaurus of modern architecture.”⁸¹⁰ In 1931, even the conservative Karl Robert Langewiesche (discussed in Chapter One) published a book with industrial photographs – *Das Werk*, with a foreword by Eugen Diesel in 1931 – simply because “*Neues Sehen*” was so popular and industrial photography had come to be associated with it.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 37.

⁸⁰⁸ Matschoss/Lindner, (1932), p. 1.

⁸⁰⁹ A comprehensive exhibition and catalogue organized by Sabine Röder shows the the history of this archive.

Stadt Krefeld (ed.). *Moderne Baukunst 1900-1914. Die Photosammlung des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe*. Exh. Cat. Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum Krefeld, Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Museum Hagen, Werkbund-Archiv Berlin. Oberhausen: Plitt Druck- und Verlags GmbH, 1993.

⁸¹⁰ Parts of these collections photographs were published in two books: the register *Diapositive und Original-Photographien der Weltausstellung in Brüssel* (1910), from which prints and slides could be ordered, and the catalog of the Folkwang Museum, *Hagen I. Moderne Architektur* (c. 1910).

Röder, Sabine. „Propaganda für eine neues Bauen: Die ‚Photographien- und Diapositivzentrale‘ des Deutschen Museums für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe.“ In: Stadt Krefeld (1993), p. 12.

Wilde, Ann und Jürgen (eds.). *Die Welt der Pflanze. Photographien von Albert Renger-Patzsch und aus dem Auriga Verlag*. Ostfildern-Ruit: Cantz, 1998, p. 8.

⁸¹¹ 15.000 copies of the book were printed, a small number for Langewiesche.

Klempert, (2002), p. 124.

Further examples:

Herbert Molderings describes the period at the end of the 1920s as a “cult of technology... that was matched by the social retrogression which was the price of [the] progress in the capitalist Weimar Republik.”⁸¹² During the Third Reich, images of industrial sites served to establish that the Nazis could be credited for the cleaner, more stable life situation of all workers. Technical history could be integrated into Nazi history effortlessly, since many approaches were conservative (e.g. a call for craftsmanship) or regional (e.g. Volkstum).⁸¹³ The myth that industrial architecture had been a niche for non-Nazis originated in a 1948 article by Rudolf Lodders in which he claimed that architects for industry were uncompromised:

Angeekelt und verzweifelt zugleich, sannen wir auf eine Ausweg... und schließlich tauchten wir dort unter, wo Hitler ein Ventil gelassen hatte: im Industriebau.... Im Industriebau wurde trotz allem, abesits vom Lärm der ‘Kunst im Dritten Reich’, der eigentliche Ausdruck unserer Zeit gefunden als erste sinnvolle Gestaltwerdung dessen, was sich wirtschäftlich und politisch noch immer nicht formen will.⁸¹⁴

Immediately after the war, industrial photography was commissioned mainly by German corporations and production plants, whose motives differed. Industrial architecture could be seen as non-representational, and after the war, many architectural critics and industrial architects claimed that industrial architecture had been untainted by Nazi ideology.⁸¹⁵ But because of the massive destruction of housing and more prominent cultural monuments, there was relatively little interest in the historical significance of technical monuments.⁸¹⁶ Smaller firms often commissioned photographs in order to document their history or commemorate anniversaries. These photographs were intended to be purely documentary. Larger corporations soon used images of industry in order to influence the workers’ and the public’s opinions.

Franz Kollmann, *Schönheit der Technik* (1928); *Technische Schönheit. 64 Bilder* (Zurich/Leipzig, 1929); *Wegweisung der Technik* (Potsdam, n.d, c. 1930); Renger-Patzsch, *Eisen und Stahl* (commissioned by the Werkbund, 1930);

⁸¹² Molderings, Herbert. “Urbanism and Technological Utopianism. Thoughts on the Photography of Neue Sachlichkeit and Bauhaus.” In: Mellor (1978), p. 91.

For a short overview over industrial photography see:

Föhl, Axel. “Die Fotografie als Quelle der Industriearchäologie.” In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 20, Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität, 1981, pp. 107-122.

⁸¹³ Haake, Heinz. Foreword. In: Ludwig, Karl-Heinz. “Das nationalsozialistische Geschichtsbild und die Technikgeschichte 1933-1945.” *Technikgeschichte*, vol. 50, no. 4 (1983), pp. 359-375.

⁸¹⁴ Lodders, Rudolf. “Zuflucht im Industriebau.” *Baukunst und Werkform*, no. 1 (1948), p. 39. [37-44].

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., 37-44.

“[...] angeekelt und verzweifelt zugleich, sannen wir auf eine Ausweg [...] und schließlich tauchten wir dort unter, wo Hitler ein Ventil gelassen hatte: im Industriebau. [...] Im Industriebau wurde trotz allem, abesits vom Lärm der ‘Kunst im Dritten Reich’, der eigentliche Ausdruck unserer Zeit gefunden als erste sinnvolle Gestaltwerdung dessen, was sich wirtschäftlich und politisch noch immer nicht formen will.” (39)

⁸¹⁶ Kierdorf/Hassler (2000), p. 51.

Bernd Becher's *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes*

The book *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* was published in 1977 by Lothar Schirmer.⁸¹⁷ It includes a short introductory text by Bernd Becher, a detailed register, and 489 black-and-white photographs of 201 principally late nineteenth-century framework houses in 57 different towns in the Sieg Valley, all taken between 1958 and 1976.⁸¹⁸ In the book's introduction, Becher describes the construction method of the pictured houses as well as the historical circumstances that led to the unique style of late nineteenth-century framework houses, the so-called *Ständerfachwerk* (characterized by the use of vertical, thin wooden beams and an absence of decoration). He also describes the houses as "purely constructive," cheap, fast to erect, and simple to maintain.⁸¹⁹ The book's register lists the same information for each of the 201 houses: town, address, Baujahr, name of Bauherr, his occupation, and the number of corresponding photographs in the book.⁸²⁰ Bernd Becher obtained the information about the buildings' histories by talking to the current residents or visiting the city archive.

While the all parts of the book and its clear division (text, register, and photos) seem to provide a coherent, logical and objective system modeled on building surveys or social statistics,

⁸¹⁷ Becher, Bernd & Hilla. *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes*. Munich: Schirmer und Mosel, 1977. (Reprint 2000)

According to Schirmer, Becher implied that he would only agree to publish a book with Schirmer, when he promised to publish a book with landscape photographs by August Sander first.

Sander, August. *Rheinlandschaften. Photographien 1929-1946*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1975.

⁸¹⁸ Some of the photographs were first exhibited at the Galerie Nohl in Siegen in 1963.

Avantgarde in Siegen. Die Galerie Nohl 1957-1968. Exh. Cat. Siegen: Kunstverein Siegen, 1994.

⁸¹⁹ For detailed descriptions of the technical and historical details of *Ständerfachwerk*, see:

Wolf, Karl. "Zur Geschichte des Siegerländer Fachwerkbaues." *Siegerland. Blätter des Vereins für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz im Siegerlande und Nachbargebieten*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1943), p. 4.

Kienzler, Herbert. *Siegerländer Fachwerkhäuser. Eine Darstellung nach den noch vorhandenen Beispielen im Kreis Siegen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres konstruktiven Gefüges und ihrer städtebaulichen Bedeutung*. Siegen: Vorländer, 1974.

⁸²⁰ The format of the register of buildings is based on the format used by historian Herbert Kienzler regarding specific houses he had surveyed for his study of Sieg Valley framework houses, four years before the publication of Becher's photos, except that Kienzler, also lists the current state of the building. Kienzler mentions Bernd Becher's photos and exhibitions, but bemoans the insufficiency of the information offered by the images: "Den eigentümlichen grafischen Reiz des späten Fachwerks hat das Ehepaar Bernhard und Hilla Becher aus Düsseldorf in seinen Schwarzweißaufnahmen mit sicherem Blick eingefangen und der Nachwelt dokumentiert. In Ausstellungen in Deutschland und in aller Welt konnten Sie damit Aufmerksamkeit finden. Es fehlt eigentlich eine Buchveröffentlichung darüber, der ein erläuternder Text von gleichem Rang beigegeben werden müsste, um noch an das an Information darzutun und an Hintergrund aufzuhellen, was das Bild allein nicht leisten kann."

Kienzler (1974), p. 69.

the combination of textual and visual information produces a dischronic, historically and factually impossible and incomprehensible description of physical and social space. The introductory text's emphasis on standardized, prefabricated production of building parts is a reflection of contemporaneous discussions and immediate historical circumstances, whereas the register provides historical information about the building and demographical information about the Bauherren – not current information about residents. The information in the photographs, meanwhile, speaks of the building's current state, or of the changes it may have been subjected to. The photographs' titles claim to indicate the exact street address, town, and date of its exposure. Because of several changes in zoning since the late 1950s, however, the street names and house numbers have often changed at least twice. Especially when Becher returned to a building at a later point to take another photograph, the street names often correspond neither to the correct address at the time of the photograph nor to the original address.⁸²¹ The photographs' sequence in the book is not chronological, neither according to the date of the image nor according to the date of construction, rendering the information of the register relatively useless in connection with the images. The composition of the individual images is, for the most part, exactly the same. The freestanding house is centered horizontally and is placed towards the upper edge of the image ever so slightly. The similitude of the composition and its repetition adds to the project's serial character, suggesting open-endedness but also a conceptual stringency and disinterestedness in the artist's subject.

The reception of the entire oeuvre of Bernd and Hilla Becher is indeed characterized by the presumption of their project's "objectivity." In 1967, Wend Fischer described the photos' "virtues" as their "*Direktheit, Härte, Unbedingtheit, Kargheit, Kälte, Trockenheit, Sprödigkeit, Stummheit.*"⁸²² In a 1975 Cologne exhibition catalogue, Klaus Honnef wrote:

Was Bernd Becher von vornherein anpeilte, war eine realistische, getreue Wiedergabe eines technischen Bauwerks, dessen Bauweise ebenso wie sein Funktions-Zusammenhang in klarer Eindeutigkeit artikuliert werden sollten.⁸²³

In the catalogue of a 1981 exhibition of Bernd and Hilla Becher's work at the Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum – the first (and one of the last) museum exhibitions to include a very large number of Bernd Becher's house photographs – curator Rudi Fuchs wrote: "An diesem Oeuvre, dieser

⁸²¹ Concise information of up to three different addresses of many houses was given to the thankful traveling author by the Siegen city archive.

⁸²² *Industriebauten 1830-1930. Eine fotografische Dokumentation von Bernd und Hilla Becher.* With an introduction by Wend Fischer. Exh. Cat. Munich: Die Neue Sammlung, 1967, n. p.

⁸²³ Honnef, Klaus (ed.). *Bernd und Hilla Becher: Fotografien 1957 bis 1975.* Exh. Cat. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1975, p. 30.

Unternehmung gibt es nichts Romantisches. Sie wird, ganz im Gegenteil, durch eine kühle, wissenschaftliche Anschauungsweise gekennzeichnet.”⁸²⁴ Uta Grefe noted the similarity of Bernd and Hilla Becher’s photographs to Albrecht Meydenbauer’s photogrammetric *Messbild* photographs: “Aufnahmen von Bernd und Hilla Becher lassen sich mit einigen Meßbildern vergleichen. Auch sie konzentrieren sich ausschließlich auf das Bauwerk, ohne die Aussage der Photographien durch Wolkenbilder oder Personengruppen zu beeinträchtigen.”⁸²⁵ And even contemporary scholar Susanne Lange, who has published on the Bechers most extensively, perpetrates the narrative of the “scientific” qualities of the Becher photographs and process:

Korrelative und eine subjektive Sichtweise regulierende Faktoren bietet – gleichsam als Garant – die wissenschaftliche Herangehensweise der Bechers, die auf der systematischen Erfassung ausgewählter Motivgruppen basiert und in die Methode der vergleichenden Gegenüberstellung formverwandter Objekte mündet. Es ist eine sachlich distanzierte Sehweise, mit der die Wirklichkeit reflektiert und mittels der Bilder auch diskutiert wird.⁸²⁶

Often their work has been described as a form of taxonomy, much like the work of plant photographer Karl Blossfeldt or the sociological portraitist August Sander, or else directly associated with the work of botanists or entomologists’ collections of butterflies or bugs.⁸²⁷ Rudi

⁸²⁴ *Bernd und Hilla Becher. Arbeiten 1957-1981*. Exh. Cat. Eindhoven: Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, 1981, p. 3.

⁸²⁵ Grefe (1979), p. 107.

⁸²⁶ The entire exhibition was based on the premise that all four photographers, Sander, Blossfeldt, Renger-Patzsch, and the Bechers shared certain ways of working serially and in a “scientific” manner. Lange, Susanne. „Zu den Photographien von Bernd und Hilla Becher.“ In: SK Stiftung Kultur (ed.). *Vergleichende Konzeptionen. August Sander, Karl Blossfeldt, Albert Renger-Patzsch, Bernd und Hilla Becher*. Exh. Cat. Munich/Paris/London: Schirmer/Mosel, 1997, p. 112.

⁸²⁷ Fischer, Wend. “Anonyme Industriebauten: Fotografische Dokumentation.” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 101 (November 1967), p. 868.

Nabakowski, Gieslind. “Bernd & Hilla Becher oder die Befragung der Architektur.” *Flash Art* 38 (January 1973), pp. 4-5. |

Honnef, Klaus. “Fotografie zwischen Authentizität und Fiktion.” In: *Documenta 6. Band 2. Fotografie – Film – Video*. Exh. Cat. Kassel: Paul Dierichs, 1977, pp. 11-27.

Honnef, Klaus (ed.). *August Sander. Fotografien von 1906-1945. Bernhard und Hilla Becher. Fotografien von 1961-1980*. Aus Anlaß der XLIV. Biennale Venedig. Exh. Cat. Bonn: Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1980.

Hagen, Charles. “Making Industrial Buildings Look Like Butterflies.” *New York Times*, (January 22, 1993), p. C15.

Ronte, Dieter. *Bernd und Hilla Becher. Träger des Goslar Kaiserrings 1994. Laudatio anlässlich der Verleihung*. Goslar: Kulturamt der Stadt Goslar, 1994, n.p.

SK Stiftung Kultur (ed.). *Vergleichende Konzeptionen. August Sander, Karl Blossfeldt, Albert Renger-Patzsch, Bernd und Hilla Becher*. Exh. Cat. Munich/Paris/London: Schirmer/Mosel, 1997.

Dobbe (2001), esp. p. 31.

Lane, Anthony. “Faces in the Crowd. August Sander’s Germans.” *The New Yorker* (February 10, 2003), p. 94.

Derenthal, Ludger. “Wie Schmetterlingssammler.” *Weltkunst*, vol. 75 (2005), pp. 90-92.

Fuchs described the Bechers' work as "anatomical studies."⁸²⁸ The Bechers, who usually appeared in interviews as a couple after 1961, described how their subjects "must be freed from their environment, from associations – as it were neutralized. Our intention is not to make aesthetically pleasing photographs, but to make detailed illustrations which, because of the lack of photographic effects, become relatively objective."⁸²⁹ Asked how they defined their approach in 2005, Hilla Becher said: "I would say it is encyclopaedic. It is a well-tested method, which was used extensively in nineteenth-century biology for the systematization of animals and vegetables."⁸³⁰ Yet despite these claims, Bernd Becher house photos are not a useful tool for empiric systematization, nor are they examples of an exercise in the classical ideal of epistemology wherein, as Michel Foucault states, knowledge is acquired and advanced through continuous ordering and registering of differences.⁸³¹ Granted, much of the reception of the work of the Bechers focuses on the hegemony of their so-called "typologies," a grid-arrangement of several images of the same building type.⁸³² In addition, the work of Bernd and Hilla Becher is usually received as a total oeuvre, without a distinction between the well-known photographs of industrial structures and Bernd Becher's house photographs. But even recent scholarly work on the house photographs has neglected the motifs of the images in favor of a formal analysis of the similarities of images and typologies. No one has mounted an investigation of the rich and complex motivations, anxieties, and playfulness behind the house image accumulations of Bernd Becher.

In the case of the Sieg Valley house images, Bernd Becher's matter-of-fact description of the historical genealogy and construction details of his subjects proved an ideal narrative for emphasizing functionality and sobriety.⁸³³ Becher described how the framework houses from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were produced with a minimum of wood and the sparest possible construction in accordance with local laws, which strongly restricted the use of

⁸²⁸ *Bernd und Hilla Becher. Arbeiten 1957-1981*. Exh. Cat. Eindhoven: Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, 1981, p. 4.

⁸²⁹ Becher, Bernhard & Hilla. "Anonyme Skulpturen." *Kunst-Zeitung*, no. 2 (January 1969).

⁸³⁰ *Bernd and Hilla Becher speak with Moritz Neumüller*. Madrid: La Fabricca, 2005, p. 9.

⁸³¹ Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things* (1966). New York: Random House, 1970.

⁸³² One of the most recent scholarly contributions concerning the serial nature of their project is by Blake Stimson, who writes: "Indeed, something like this 'perfect chain' or pattern of serial rhythms and repetitions is the initial impression given to the beholder when facing a Becher installation or book for the first time or when moving from one to the next of any of their ten or fifteen books—from Water Towers to Framework Houses to Gas Tanks to Industrial Landscapes, for example,—or in and between any of the numerable exhibition catalogues."

Stimson (2006), esp. pp. 137-176.

⁸³³ For instance:

Becher, Bernd & Hilla. *Hochöfen*. Exh. Cat. Dortmund: Hoesch Museum, 1990, pp. 6, 8-9.

wood, particularly toward the end of the nineteenth century. The efficient use of wood in the Sieg Valley, where iron ore was mined and smelted for centuries, was a prerequisite for the continuous and accelerated industrialization of the region throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The industry's sustainability depended on a reliable and long-term supply of wood, ensured through various systems of rationing such as the allocation of wooded areas to cooperatives (*Haubergswirtschaft*) and the rotation of clearing and reforestation. When the boost in the mining industry led to an extreme increase in immigration during the nineteenth century, housing needed to be built quickly and cheaply, and house parts were, according to Becher, prefabricated in the winter and quickly erected in the spring by simple carpenters lacking intentional aesthetic design. For Becher it is of utmost importance that these framework houses have nothing to do with a romanticization of rural life.⁸³⁴

In his text about the houses, Becher stresses the economical reason for the distinctive appearance of the framework houses in the Sieg Valley, which played a major role in a region known for its paltry landscape, harsh agricultural conditions, deficient infrastructure, and bad weather.⁸³⁵ The mining industry provided hard working and living conditions, particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and had always demanded that much of the scarce resources of the region (such as the few long, large beams of wood) were reinvested in the local mining industry.⁸³⁶ Residents of the Sieg Valley, which became Calvinist around 1600, are known for

⁸³⁴ Donald Kuspit completely misreads the Sieg Valley framework houses as signifiers of an agrarian lifestyle.

"[...] a framework building implies that the ideal home is rustic in character – that country life is preferable to city life."

Kuspit, Donald. "Bernd und Hilla Becher. DIA Art Foundation. Sonnabend Gallery." *Artforum* (April 1990), p. 170.

A similar misunderstanding of the nature of the framework houses is found in Germano Celant's description of the photos as simply "involv[ing] prevalent irregular wood patterns on white walls."

Bernd & Hilla Becher. Exh. Cat. La Jolla: La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, 1974, n.p.

⁸³⁵ In an article on materials to be used for roofing from 1930, local historian Hans Kruse mentioned that "mainly those migrating from Southern Germany" were in favor of the red Ziegeldach, because "the dark, rainy landscape of the Sieg Valley needs color."

Hans Kruse (1882-1941), the head of the city archive until his death, was highly dedicated to the Sieg Valley. He founded the Siegerland Museum in 1929, and initiated the "Verein für Heimatschutz und Heimatkunde," published the association's journal, *Vereinszeitschrift Siegerland* since 1911, and after 1920 also edited the "Siegerländer Heimatkalender."

Kruse, Hans. "Heimatschutz und Stahlblechdach." *Blätter des Vereins für Heimatkunde*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1930), p. 40. [40-53].

⁸³⁶ Forneberg, Helmut. "'Dreizehn Mann schlafen auf einem Zimmer.' Lebensbedingungen der Bergmannsfamilien 1860/80." In: Koch, Horst (ed.). *Eiserfeld im grünen Kranz der Berge. Dokumentation zur 700jährigen Geschichte des ehemaligen Bergmannsdorfes*. Siegen: Verlag Gudrun Koch, 1992, pp. 84-86.

Bingener, Andreas. "Epidemien und schlechte Ernährung. Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung von 1563 bis 1990." In: Koch (1992), pp. 155-162.

their pietism, asceticism, and sobriety.⁸³⁷ This attitude manifested itself materially not only in the absence of traditional craft products, but also architecturally, for instance in the removal of colorful designs and humorous or frivolous inscriptions on medieval framework houses starting in the eighteenth century. Newer inscriptions tended to stress a fatalistic approach to life and architecture: “Wir haben hier keine bleibende Statt sondern die zukünftige suchen wir wo der Mensch sich auch baut seinen Palast er bleibet hienieden doch immer Gast. [sic]”⁸³⁸ A long anecdotal contribution by a Sieg Valley miner in the National Socialist newspaper supplement *Volkstum und Heimat*, which was supposed to promote wholesome *Volkstum*, stoically described a dutiful and hard life where miners never saw the light of day and were thrilled to be drafted into the military because it would finally allow them to “frolic in the light and the sun.”⁸³⁹ Adding to the lack of elaborate local customs was the migratory nature of the region because of the rotation of itinerant laborers ever since the beginnings of industrialization. Immigration to the Sieg Valley area was particularly high between 1870 and 1900, and these temporary residents and poor immigrant families were not likely to practice traditional customs.⁸⁴⁰ Even more so that most other Europeans, Sieg Valley residents became a mix of Northern and Western Germans, Italians,

⁸³⁷ The work ethic and asceticism based in Protestantism and especially Calvinism was what Max Weber had identified as promotive factors for capitalism, and modernity.

Weber, Max. *Die protestantische Ethik und der ‚Geist‘ des Kapitalismus*. (1905) Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006. “Das Siegerland ist mit dem benachbarten Fürstentum Nassau-Dillenburg eines der am strengsten ausgeprägten Gebiete des reformierten Bekenntnisses in Deutschland geworden. Die Änderung des Bekenntnisses hat offenbar der besonderen Geistesrichtung des Siegerländers entsprochen. Die Abgeschlossenheit von der Welt, die Besonderheit seines Berufslebens, die Waldeinsamkeit des Köhlerlebens, die ständige Lebensgefahr, welcher der Berg- und Hüttenmann ausgesetzt ist, das alles hat dem Siegerländer einen ernsten und auf das Jenseitige gerichteten Wesenszug verliehen. Das Bedürfnis nach Heilsgewißheit ist früh in ihm geweckt worden. Starke religiöse Bewegungen haben daher im Siegerlande immer schnell Eingang gefunden. [...]”

Kruse, Hans. “Siegerland.” *Heimat und Reich. Monatshefte für westfälisches Volkstum* 2 (1935), p. 45.

⁸³⁸ According to leading local historian Annemarie Teepe-Wurmbach only a few older inscriptions have remained in the catholic town of Netphen.

Teepe-Wurmbach, Annemarie. “Fachwerkbau im Siegerland.” *Siegbild. Kontakte Berichte Photos*. (1/1964), pp. 14, 130.

See also:

Local historians Andreas Bingener and Friedrich Weber wrote a history of house inscriptions in the Sieg Valley, but were clearly only interested in framework houses constructed before the nineteenth century. Bingener, Andreas/Weber, Friedrich. *Fachwerkhäuser erzählen Geschichten. Von Hausinschriften im Siegerland. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Siegen und des Siegerlandes*, 7. Siegen: Vorländer, 2000.

⁸³⁹ “Für den Bergmann war diese Dienstzeit von ungeheurem Wert. Er konnte sich nun nochmal in Luft und Sonne austummeln.”

Volkstum und Heimat. Heimatbeilage der Siegerländer National-Zeitung (March 9, 1935).

⁸⁴⁰ Andreas Bingener states that the population of the small town of Eiserfeld more than quadrupled between 1858 and 1895.

Bingener, Andreas. “Epidemien und schlechte Ernährung. Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung von 1563 bis 1990.” In: Koch (1992), pp. 155-162.

and nomadic “gypsies” during the late nineteenth century.⁸⁴¹ There was hardly any “Brauchtum” in the Sieg Valley.⁸⁴² Local historians apologetically cited the region’s dearth of natural resources as a reason for early industrialization, which was necessary to the region’s survival without agriculture.⁸⁴³

Early nineteenth-century photographs, however, reveal that Sieg Valley residents identified with their industrialized everyday life. Amateur photographer Peter Weller (1868-1940), an administrator at a local mine, began photographing the industrial landscape after 1900 and showing his photographs, which Becher greatly admired, at regional trade shows.⁸⁴⁴ Even the supposedly functionalist architectural construction was apparently esteemed as characteristic of the region: an 1873 class photograph of the *Bergschule Siegen* shows a class grouped around a small mining machine and a model framework house (fig. 4.14).⁸⁴⁵

Similar to the model of a prefabricated house’s defiance of conservative notions of regional identity, Becher’s photographs defy, refusing to represent buildings. On a visual level, the houses are objects, whose graphical qualities Becher exploits and heightens by rendering them two-dimensional. On a conceptual, level they serve as indicators of the social, political, and

⁸⁴¹ A local historian tries to downplay this heterogeneity in a 1936 article: “Von fremdvölkischem Bluteinschlag ist im Siegerland kaum etwas zu merken, nur daß einige Italiener in Siegerländer Familien geheiratet haben. Ungeklärt ist die Frage der Mäckese, von denen man annimmt, daß sie eine Mischung zwischen Deutschen und Zigeunern seien. Ungeklärt auch die Frage, wo die Hicken einzuordnen seien. [...] Wir sind ein Volk, daß viel einheitlicher ist, als andere Völker wahr haben möchten. Kleine Unterschiede gibt es von Landschaft zu Landschaft wie von Dorf zu Dorf und von Haus zu Haus, aber über allem steht das Einheitliche, was uns zusammenschließt: Das gleiche Blut, das gleiche Schicksal und der gleiche Wille.”

Irle, Lothar. “Einwanderung in das Siegerland und ihr Einfluß auf Wesen und Charakter der Siegerländer Bevölkerung.” *Siegerland*, vol. 18 (1936), pp. 31-35

⁸⁴² “Das Siegerländer Volkstum ist, wie es dem Wesen einer ausgeprägten reformierten Landschaft entspricht und wie es durch den harten Kampf des Siegerländers um das tägliche Brot bedingt ist, ernst und nüchtern. Brauchtum hat sich daher im Siegerlande nur wenig erhalten.”

Kruse, Hans. “Siegerland.” *Heimat und Reich. Monatshefte für westfälisches Volkstum* 2 (1935), p. 45.

⁸⁴³ Rees, Wilhelm. *Das Bergische Land*. Düsseldorf: Verlag Schwann, 1940, p. 22.

Rees nevertheless shows photographs of idyllic country scenes in his book.

⁸⁴⁴ Weller sold 800 of his plates from the region to the Siegerländer Heimatverein in 1919.

Winfried Ranke cites reviews of the photos exhibited at the 1913 *Sauerlandschau*.

Ranke, Winfried. “Photographie und Heimatkunde.” In: *Hauberg und Eisen. Landwirtschaft und Industrie im Siegerland um 1900*. Exh. Cat. Rheinisches Freilichtmuseum. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1980, p. 10.

Also: Güthling, Wilhelm (ed.). *Das alte Betzdorf in Lichtbildern von Peter Weller*. Betzdorf, 1963.

Here, Weller is described like a Heimatphotograph: “Mit scharfem Auge hat er das genannte Gebiet mit seiner Kamera durchwandert und sie auf die besonderen Lieblinge des Heimatschutzes gerichtet. Kein Bauernhaus mit charakteristischem Fachwerk und Schnitzereien ist ihm entgangen.”

Later publications show his images of industrial sites:

Peter Weller. Gruben und Hütten. Munich: Schirmer und Mosel, 1975.

Documenta 6. Band 2. Fotografie – Film – Video. Exh. Cat. Kassel: Paul Dierichs, 1977, p. 82.

Hackstein, Georg. *Historische Fotografie im Siegerland*. Siegen: Forschungsstelle Siegerland, 1995.

⁸⁴⁵ Hackstein (1995), p. 44.

economical circumstances that brought them about, issues deeply emotional for Becher. The photographs in *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* are sorted into five different categories according to the views shown: 83 views of “*Giebelseiten*” (“Gable Sides”), 37 “*Verschieferte Giebelseiten*” (“Slated Gable Sides”), 45 “*Strassen- und Rückseiten*” (“Street and Rear Sides”), 69 “*Verschieferte Strassen- und Rückseiten*” (“Slated Street and Rear Sides”) and 39 “*Eckansichten*” (“Corner Views”). A further category, “*Abwicklungen*” (“Houses From Different Views”), consists of a selection of rows and grids of photos of forty houses (here, the photographs from the previous categories are repeated). The last category, “*Strassen- und Ortsansichten*” (“Groups of Houses”) consists of 37 different panoramic views of eleven towns.

The photographic renditions of the single houses is the result of a very specific and diligent set of steps. In order to achieve the least possible distortion of the façade in the photograph, Becher took the photograph from a point elevated above ground level. But since Becher wanted to achieve an effect he described as the “*Aufklappen*” from the background (similar to a feature in a pop-up book), he always positioned himself with the camera slightly below the center of the building on a vertical level. Becher usually accomplished this by climbing onto a tall ladder he owned and stored in the Sieg Valley, which he positioned on the wall of a facing house. In some instances, he also took the photograph from the window of a facing house. Bernd (and Hilla) Becher wanted the images to be as “empty” as possible. They avoided shadow effects and preferred that plants be dead and trees leafless, which caused them to take almost all of their photographs in spring and late fall. As a result, they tended to go on trips during hunting season for most of their career.

The technical expertise associated with the Becher photographs is most likely a result of Hilla Becher’s training, skills, and high professional standards. While the composition of the images is the same for almost twenty years, the early photos from 1958 that Becher took on his own before he met Hilla still have slight technical “flaws”: the outline of the gable in plate 27 (“*Kampenstraße 42, Gosenbach, 1958*”) is lighter than the rest of the roof and slightly out of focus, causing it to dissolve into the sky. The photo of “*Bahnhofstraße 28, Neunkirchen, 1958*” (plate 137) was taken after it had rained, causing reflective effects not usually seen in the pictures. In the majority of later photographs, Becher ensured a small variance of tonal values, disintensifying contrasts rather than emphasizing them, and used filters to give the images an unvariegated impression.⁸⁴⁶ The darkness of the framework was a result of the long exposure

⁸⁴⁶ Sachsse, Rolf. *Hilla und Bernd Becher. Silo für Kokskohle, Zeche Hannibal, Bochum-Hofstede, 1967: das Anonyme und das Plastische der Industriephotographie*. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1999, p. 19.

times and highly-lit sensitive films Becher used, rather than strong contrasts present on the house itself. Since all objects in the photograph appear relatively dark, it was particularly important that there be as little background or surrounding objects around the individual house as possible. The framework and slate façades themselves take up most of the space of the image with few distractions.⁸⁴⁷ Particularly in the gable wall pictures, the predominance of the façades and their material surface qualities discourages the gaze from moving beyond the black-and-white patterned elevations, which take up most of the space of the image. Often the bottom margins of the images expose nothing more than their barren setting. A break in this rule in plate 209 (“Häuslingstrasse 348, Oberheuslingen, 1968”) makes the trend even more apparent: it depicts a single, free-standing house whose paved entrance and driveway dissolve into the paved, curbstone-less street. About four meters away from the house in front of the door, which is slightly right of center, stands a single metal trashcan.

At first glance, the photographs’ composition and motifs seem consistent and repetitive, a sense reinforced by the sheer volume of the images. The hundreds of photographs of similar buildings give an illusion of a homogenous suburban space. But the images are in fact incredibly rich in detail and become increasingly legible with each viewing. They include numerous reminders of the neglected material customs and practices developed *within* the period of accelerated industrialization around 1900. In the images of the uncovered framework houses, the façade reveals the difficulties of building a house with the minimum amount of wood available. Few houses’ framework constructions are entirely symmetrical and standardized; among them is the first image in the book, “Holzhäuser Straße 25, Allendorf 1973” (fig. 4.14), most likely chosen because it illustrates Becher’s point about the standardization of the building process. “Rensdorfstraße 13, Salchendorf, 1960,” however, looks as if an additional vertical panel had been added to the left side of the house as an afterthought before its truss was added (fig. 4.15). Several houses have additions that have simply been attached to the house, such as an outhouse or storage shed, but many (plates 68-77) reveal early expansions of the building (fig. 4.16). For instance, the trusses in plate 75 (“Eiserfelder Straße 37, Rinsdorf, 1973”) are slightly raised: the “base” house dates from 1639, but the addition only dates from 1900.⁸⁴⁸ Other buildings such as

⁸⁴⁷ Bernd Becher himself noted the similarity of the framework façades’ structure to constructivist art.

⁸⁴⁸ The trusses are heightened by raising the part of the building called “Kniestock” or “Drempel,” heightening the attic wall. Within this dissertation, it is not possible to describe the myriad technical possibilities and extensive terminology developed by Sieg Valley residents with regards to constructing and expanding buildings as cheaply and efficiently as possible. In their introduction, Bernd and Hilla Becher write that most houses date from the period between 1870 and 1914. Several houses, however, are not late nineteenth, or early twentieth century structures. Especially images 70-83 are mainly houses from around 1700, to which additions were made around 1900.

“Auf der Forth 2, Zeppenfeld, 1961” (plate 81) are even enclosed by another building on three of its sides. The façades that have been treated with slate cladding appear monolithic at first glance, but upon closer inspection display not only the subtly glistening surface quality of the volcanic, foliated material and its rough hewn edges, but also restrained decorative features such as a band of small diamond-shaped, all-black or all-white shingles inserted between the first, second or third levels of houses 183-190.⁸⁴⁹

The sequence of the images loosely groups such similarities. In addition, each spread gives a visual account of the subjects’ similarities and differences. Each spread usually shows two generally similar shapes with one distinctive difference, such as the pair of plates 42 and 43 (“Wildener Straße 78, Salchendorf, 1968,” and “Wildener Straße 64, Salchendorf, 1973”), which show two almost-identical façades (fig. 4.17). A gutter even crosses the framework part of the façade diagonally. The only obvious difference between the two buildings consists of a window that was added in the top part of the façade beneath the roof trusses, which is covered with synthetic slate. Such obviously recent changes are a constant underlying theme in Becher’s photographs. Changes in the buildings are taking place or are imminent. The photographs in category VII, “Street and Town Views,” show panoramas that on one hand serve to localize buildings and provide context. On the other hand, these views are the most perishable—the majority of these photographs (34 of 37) were taken at the beginning of the project, between 1959 and 1962, suggesting that the panoramic views became more “disturbed” by demolitions, additions, or other changes to the spaces.⁸⁵⁰

Except for the heightening of the trusses, the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century framework houses were not often changed until after World War II because of the scarcity of funds and materials.⁸⁵¹ Major changes to the buildings were not made until the late

⁸⁴⁹ The slate cladding was indeed not only a convenient protection against the elements, but also a representation of the Schieferdecker’s talent. Often, slate cladding contained thin, subtle decorative bands that varied according to region. Information from Siegerland Schieferdecker, who had reslated his house himself with a decoration typical for his native region, not the region in which he owned a house.

⁸⁵⁰ A few settings from the photos look eerily similar to the contemporary state, one place even still has the same parking lot sign as in a photo from 1970.

⁸⁵¹ The first permission for an addition to the house on Körnerstraße 6 in Niederschelden, for instance, was issued on October 31, 1940 not through the government agency responsible for building, but by the Employment Agency (“Arbeitsamt”) Siegen. With the reference “Vierte Anordnung zur Durchführung des Vierjahresplans” (Vierjahresplan first issued on October 18, 1936) the Arbeitsamt gives permission for a small one-story extension with the labor of one bricklayer, one carpenter, and one unskilled laborer and a small amount of materials. Permission was given to the building’s owner on the grounds that he had three children and this was classified as “kinderreich.” While the plan for the addition shows only a one-story-addition, the 1962 Becher photo shows a two-story addition that appears to have been erected at the same time. The absence of a building application for a second story also suggests that this floor was simply

1950s, which coincided with the region's economic growth and the deterioration of building materials such as windows, which needed to be renewed after fifty to seventy years. Building permit applications show that many owners sought permission not just to renew, but also to add large new picture-windows, a practice Becher claimed particularly to dislike. Such an application for a large shop window was made for the house on Eisernstraße 114 (Eiserfeld) and approved on April 18, 1956. In the book, only one photo of the house from the back-dated 1961 is shown, denying the view of the newly placed window. Only image number 43 shows such a new window, fittingly surrounded by synthetic slate. Synthetic slate was used to replace many of the natural slate facades in the 1960s. It was a new material and was less expensive and promised to be more uniform than natural slate, particularly when parts were replaced due to damage or changes. However, like many synthetic materials of the postwar era, synthetic slate turned out to age badly and, more importantly, release asbestos over time. Still, it remains a material preferred by many lower-income residents as a low-cost and low-maintenance way to visually renew the exterior of the house and improve insulation.⁸⁵²

City building documents reveal some of the larger changes postwar era owners made when modernizing framework houses. Enlargement of windows and addition of new structures and balconies were particularly common, and usually required permission. Becher usually photographed buildings that only underwent minor changes such as the addition of fences or handrails. Even more significantly, it seems that Becher photographed houses especially when changes were imminent, suggesting that received information of such changes through word-of-mouth or simple observation. The city's archive contains several applications for permissions for massive changes to the house on Eisernstraße 158 in Eiserfeld (plate 201). The first document, dated October 11, 1969, seeks permission for substantial additions to the back of the house. Later, an application for a proposed window change to the house is dated August 22, 1971: "An meinem Wohnhaus... möchte ich die Straßenfront verändern und zwar in dem Maße, daß ich im Erd- und Obergeschoß je 2 Fenster zu einem Fenster vergrößere. Zur besseren Anschaulichkeit lege ich

added without permission, a "Schwarzbau," which was common in the Siegerland since such additions could be erected very quickly.

Building permit October 31, 1940, Archive of the Bauamt Siegen.

⁸⁵² Preservationists face similar issues in the United States, where historical wood buildings are often covered with synthetic siding.

Hoagland, Alison. "Industrial Housing and Vinyl Siding: Historical Significance Flexibly Applied." In: Tomlan, Michael (ed.). *Preservation of What, for Whom?* Ithaca: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998, pp. 115-124.

zwei Fotografien bei.”⁸⁵³ Becher photographed the house’s front and side façades in 1970 and 1971: after the changes on the back were made, but before the windows were changed (fig. 4.18).

Still, the photos are not a desperate attempt to freeze an image of “good old times.” Many images hint at contemporary everyday life and the fact that the buildings *have* an interior. Two open bottom panes of an open window in plate 197 reveal nothing but a big black hole. But another window opening to the attic in image 207 shows some square pillowcases and a shirt that have been hung up to dry. Because they are still wet, the square shape of the pillowcases has given way to a sagging white shape, partially hiding a long-sleeved shirt. A man curiously peeks out from behind a window in image 75. The photos made in the 1960s often feature a car somewhere around the buildings. Streetlamps in a new sleek design are visible on most photos from the 1970s. The left margin of image 12 (“Heuslingstrasse 342, Oberheusingen, 1970”) reveals a group of three blurred figures, one baby in a carriage in focus, and a sign for Gerda Hein’s convenience store.⁸⁵⁴ Plate 13, Hagener Straße 37, Wilnsdorf 1970, shows the ESSO logo on a garage with a church steeple right behind it; the house in image 34 stands next to a flat-roofed structure with an ARAL neon sign. And several photographs (10, 18, 26, 234) show newly constructed houses, or yet unplastered concrete brick houses under construction (18, 26). Fences and hedges tend to appear as if their main purpose was not to provide boundaries but to serve as horizontal bands in a photograph. For instance, in image 87, “Siegstraße 150, Dreis-Tiefenbach, 1970,” a “*Jägerzaun*” (a cheap wooden fence often considered the epitome of kitsch because of its allusion to jovial woodland life) is visible in the lower third of the image. But the fact that these mundane instances seem obscured by abstraction and frontal composition deters an interpretation that could construe them as kitschy.

Equally important is the arrangement of photographs in grids, the so-called “typologies” typical of all of Bernd and Hilla Becher’s work. The grids are not only “emblematic for modernist ambition within the arts” but, more importantly, “announce... modern art’s will to silence, its hostility to literature, to narrative, to discourse.”⁸⁵⁵ Contrary to critic Gordon Hughes’s recent thesis that the grids constitute a “draining of subjective content,” the grid serves, literally, as a protective screen against the encumbered history of German architectural photography, of which

⁸⁵³ Building proposal August 22, 1971, Archive of the Bauamt Siegen.

⁸⁵⁴ The blurring of figures is evidence of the long exposure time the Bechers need to work with the lightunsensitive films they used.

⁸⁵⁵ Krauss, Rosalind. “Grids.” In: Krauss, Rosalind. *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*. Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 1986, p. 9.

both Bechers were fully aware.⁸⁵⁶ “We don’t agree with the depiction of buildings in the twenties and thirties,” they noted. “Things were seen either from above or below which tended to monumentalize the object. This was exploited in terms of a socialistic view – a fresh view of the world, a new man, a new beginning. Later, the Nazis gave this style their own interpretation and incorporated it into their ideology. A straight-on photograph doesn’t hide or exaggerate or depict anything in an untrue fashion. The forms speak for themselves and become readable...”⁸⁵⁷ In exhibitions and catalogues, the individual house photos are usually arranged in grids of nine to sixteen images. The grid is essential in dispelling any suspicions about emotional motivations behind the work, an effect reinforced in the 1977 book’s Section VI, “Houses From Different Views” or “*Abwicklungen einzelner Häuser*,” which contains forty sets of three to eight views of a single building, arranged in rows or grids. All of these houses are relatively free-standing, which is why it was possible for Bernd Becher to have an adequate distance from the object to take his photos from several views. In German, the term *Abwicklung* means settlement or liquidation and suggests that the buildings photographed were scheduled for demolition, possibly due to their lack of integration into any town fabric and unfavorable location, for instance under a highway bridge (see “Bahnhofstrasse 155, Eiserfeld, 1971,” plate 296).⁸⁵⁸ More drastically, the apparently cool, indifferent diction suggests that for Becher the buildings had become obsolete once they had been adequately captured in a sequence of images (fig. 4.19).

Becher was successful in staving off insinuations of emotionality during the mid 1970s – curator Klaus Honnef praised the alleged lack of emotions visible in the images:

Statt der dramatischen Vergegenwärtigung eines individuellen Schicksals, das keinerlei repräsentativen Wert besitzt, die kühle und knappe und scharfe Analyse des Fotografen, der emotionslos dokumentiert und berichtet. Der Bildgegenstand, die Siedlungshäuser, ist in die Bild-Mitte plziert und streng orthogonal aufgezeichnet. Keine ausgeklügelte Komposition, kein raffinierter Bild-Aufriß – die trockene Sachlichkeit einer auf genaueste Wiedergabe erpichten Kamera führt das bildnerische Regiment.⁸⁵⁹

Formally, the photographs’ style and presentation are clearly aligned with modernist precedents such as Renger-Patzsch or Sander. Becher himself described his own work – also in the mid-

⁸⁵⁶ Hughes, Gordon. “Game Face: Douglas Huebler and the Voiding of Photographic Portraiture.” *Art Journal*, vol. 66, no. 4 (Winter 2007), p. 63.

⁸⁵⁷ Grauerholz/Ramsden (1981), p. 18.

⁸⁵⁸ After German reunification, “Abwicklung” became a euphemism for the closing down of many plants and companies in Eastern Germany, resulting in wide-spread unemployment.

⁸⁵⁹ Honnef, Klaus (ed.). *Bernd und Hilla Becher: Fotografien 1957 bis 1975*. Exh. Cat. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1975, p. 37.

seventies – as “Kulturgeschichte,” explicitly referencing Sander’s work (which he called “normal”) as a model for his own work. Becher clarified that “normality,” for him, was constituted by the uniformity of composition, which made images of different subjects comparable: “[Sander hat] Leute fotografiert, die sich normalerweise *nicht* fotografieren liessen.... Gleichzeitig hat er Leute fotografiert, die sich *gerne* fotografieren lassen, ...die er aber wiederum so fotografiert hat, wie andere auch, so dass jeder mit jedem vergleichbar wird.”⁸⁶⁰ “Sachlichkeit” is utilized as a connection to the 1920s, and to counter reactionary imagery. But the appearance of objectivity itself was not enough for contemporaneous leftist critics. In the 1920s, the painter Franz Seiwert criticized Sander for not being precise enough about the sociological circumstances of his subject:

stellen wir uns so zu der arbeit sanders an sich vollkommen bejahend, so möchte man in bezug auf die einordnung teilweise eine schärfere und klarere soziologische formulierung wünschen. hier müßte das ziel sozusagen ein herbarium menschlichen daseins sein: standort, jahr, tätigkeit, klasseneinordnung, wie es sich aus dem satz von marx ergibt, den wir folgen lassen: ‘aber es handelt sich hier um die personen nur, soweit sie die personifikation ökonomischer kategorien sind, träger von bestimmten klassenverhältnissen und interessen.’⁸⁶¹

Whether Becher was aware of this criticism or not, the notion of accurate social statistics is introduced by means of his list providing the location of the building, its date, the name and profession of the builder, and the corresponding image number. A 1979 exhibition catalogue details the construction history, use, program, and costs of seven houses.⁸⁶² All of this information suggested that these houses were lower- or lower-middle class houses and had nothing to do with the consumerism of affluent societies. Like most scholars, Klaus Honnef emphasized solely the functional economical aspects of the Sieg Valley framework houses:

Das ‘Gesicht’ des Fachwerks ist gekennzeichnet durch die Spuren der Kalkulation. Kein Fachwerk, wie es anheimelnde Fachwerkhäuser besitzen, die in bäuerlichen Gegenden von der Blüte des Handwerks zeugen, sondern ein massen-produziertes, das lediglich auf rationelle Weise dient.... Es ist dasselbe Bau-Prinzip, das die Wohnhäuser des siegerländischen Industriegebiets regiert. Einheitliche Haus-Typen, deren Bauelemente vorgestanz sind, und nur innerhalb eines begrenzten Schemas bauliche Variationen gestatten. Einfaches Holz, Schwemmstein – das sind die Baumaterialien, die nach Billigkeits-

⁸⁶⁰ Nabokowski, Gisli. “Interview mit Bernd Becher.” *Heute Kunst*, no. 13 (February-April 1976), p. 8.

⁸⁶¹ Seiwert, Franz. „fotobücher: august sander: antlitz der zeit.“ *a-z 6* (March 1930), p. 22.

⁸⁶² Becher, Bernd & Hilla. *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes*. Exh. Cat. Wuppertal: Kunst- und Museumsverein, 1979.

Grundsätzen zusammengefügt wurden.⁸⁶³

In the discourse of the late 1970s, the economic constraints of the owners guaranteed a certain authenticity: Bernd Becher often describes the motifs of his photo as “*nicht verbrämt*,” which could roughly be translated as “not phony.”⁸⁶⁴ In the 1960s and 70s, those that were sympathetic to Becher’s work called the framework houses photographed by Bernd Becher “workers’ houses.”⁸⁶⁵ Bernd and Hilla Becher themselves referred to the houses as “workers’ houses” but denied any explicit political agenda. In fact, the houses were only easily attainable for residents who already had some kind of capital or family help, which means that they were established Siegerland residents, not the many itinerant workers or recent immigrants to the area.⁸⁶⁶ But Becher was also strongly criticized for ignoring or concealing identity and authorship. In reaction to Carl Andre’s endorsement of the Bechers, American critic Joseph Mashek in particular suggested that they were romantic elitists who “ignore[d] the question of the authorship even if the designer of a work is known to history.”⁸⁶⁷ Becher was also accused of aestheticizing and hence endorsing capitalism, to which Becher countered that the photographs of industrial buildings were neither commissioned nor welcomed by their managers, since the sites were rarely in perfect condition.⁸⁶⁸ Ulrich Greiner accused the Bechers of glorifying industrial structures through glossy prints in the same way Renger-Patzsch supposedly glorified tenement buildings.⁸⁶⁹ Art historian Helmut Hartwig discredited even the choice of subject as “ideological” since its

⁸⁶³ Honnef, Klaus (ed.). *Bernd und Hilla Becher: Fotografien 1957 bis 1975*. Exh. Cat. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1975, p. 31.

⁸⁶⁴ Nabokowski (1976), p. 9.

⁸⁶⁵ For example:

Kahmen, Volker. “Industriefachwerk—Beitrag zu einer Morphologie des Siegerlandes.” *Bauwelt*, vol. 57, nos. 1-2, (January 10, 1966), pp. 21-33.

Fischer, Wend. “Introduction.” In: *Industriebauten 1830-1930. Eine fotografische Dokumentation von Bernd und Hilla Becher*. With an introduction by Wend Fischer. Exh. Cat. Munich: Die Neue Sammlung, 1967, n. p.

Nabokowski (1976), p. 9.

⁸⁶⁶ “Selbst unter den denkbar günstigsten finanziellen Verhältnissen vor dem Krieg dauerte es lange, bis der kleine Mann sich ein eigenes Haus selbst verdienen konnte; er verliert in der langen Zeit der Zinszahlungen zur Tilgung der Bauschuld das Interesse an der ihm außerdem zur Last liegenden Bauunterhaltung; er verliert, wenn später größere Reparaturen notwendig werden, leicht dem Mut und läßt das Haus, wenn ihn nicht wachsame Beaufsichtigung daran hindert, verfallen.”

Spiegelberg, D. “Kurze Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wohnhausbaus in Siegen.” In: *Deutschlands Städtebau. Siegen und das Siegerland*. Berlin-Halensee: Deutscher Architektur- und Industrie-Verlag (DARI), 1922, p. 32.

⁸⁶⁷ Mashek, Joseph. “Unconscious Formalism, a Response to Andre’s Note on the Bechers.” *Artforum* (March 11, 1973), p. 75.

⁸⁶⁸ Nabokowski (1976), p. 12.

⁸⁶⁹ Greiner, Ulrich. “Ein Förderturm ist eine Förderturm.” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (January 6, 1971).

nature was to distance the viewer from human subjects.⁸⁷⁰ Becher reacted to this criticism by explaining that the objects he photographs bear traces of, or are results of, work; therefore, the depiction of humans associated with the buildings would be superfluous and even deceptive: “Ich will ja nicht sagen, hier ist das Haus, und vor ihm sitzt jemand und trinkt Kaffee. Ich will nicht die Stile zeigen, sondern die Schwierigkeiten und Umstände, unter denen sie entstanden sind.”⁸⁷¹ The photos are indeed marked by the conspicuous *absence* of people, though Becher noted that the photographs are not snapshots and that people wouldn’t simply stand and pose as he was photographing the buildings.⁸⁷² In fact, Becher argues, showing the houses without humans is the only way to show them *objectively*:

Unsere Arbeit ist bezogen auf Objekte, die zum grossen Teil ausserhalb der offiziellen Architektur stehen.... Die sichtbare Konstruktion ist das Charakteristikum des jeweiligen Objekts. Das kann auch ein Arbeiterwohnhaus von der Rückseite sein, wo die Bewohner so viele kleine Anbauten gemacht haben, meinethalben Kaninchenställe hingesezt, die Gärten auf eine bestimmte Weise unterteilt haben, so dass selbst die Rückseite eines Hauses mit dem Garten eine von den Bewohnern im ökonomischen Sinne gestaltete Welt ist, die man so, wie sie aussieht, ganz sachlich in der Fotografie zeigen sollte.⁸⁷³

In this sense, curator Christian Rathke compared the different façade treatments of the houses to clothing: “Stall und Garten auf der Rückseite zeigen das ökonomische Fachwerk und sind nicht selten ähnlich abgenutzt wie die Arbeitshose oder Kittel, die regelmäßigere Straßenseite ist verschiefert. Und dient in ähnlicher Weise wie der schwarze Sonntagsanzug der Repräsentation.”⁸⁷⁴ To Rathke it was obvious that the images of the houses amounted to a social “psychogramm” of their inhabitants, making the house photos legitimate for socially conscious critics of the time.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁰ Hartwig, Helmut. “Zur Ideologiekritik von SEHEN-LERNEN.” *Ästhetik und Kommunikation*, no. 2, 1970, p. 19. [17-21]

⁸⁷¹ Nabokowski (1976), p. 12.

⁸⁷² “Because of their familiarity with the structures, the workers have a natural relationship to the photograph

Grauerholz/Ramsden (1981), p. 18.

⁸⁷³ Nabokowski, Gisli. “Interview mit Bernd Becher.” *Heute Kunst*, no. 13 (February-April 1976), p. 8. In another interview Bernd Becher explains the absence of humans with the long exposure time. Köhler, Michael. “Interview mit Bernhard und Hilla Becher.” In: Romain, Lothar/Bluemler, Detlef (eds.). *Künstler. Kritisches Lexikon der Gegenwartskunst*. 7th edition, Munich: WB Verlag, 1989, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁷⁴ Rathke, Christian. “Eine Vorbemerkung zu den Fachwerkhäusern des Siegener Industriegebiets.” In: Becher, Bernd & Hilla. *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes*. Exh. Cat. Wuppertal: Kunst- und Museumsverein, 1979, n.p.

⁸⁷⁵ “Als neues Element tritt jene noch kleinbürgerliche Strebsamkeit hinzu, die den Familienvater veranlaßt, in Hütte oder Zeche zu arbeiten oder einen kleinen Gewerbebetrieb zu führen. Fleiß und Sparsamkeit, Bescheidenheit in den persönlichen Ansprüchen und Ordentlichkeit in der Selbstdarstellung scheinen vor allem aus den Straßenfassaden zu sprechen. [...] Doch trotz der Ostentation bürgerlicher Tugenden, der

Becher did not *liken* the house photographs to portraits. For Becher, his house photographs *were* portraits:

Man könnte sagen, daß wir auch Porträtaufnahmen machen, mit dem Unterschied, daß wir nicht Menschen fotografieren, sondern Architekturen. Wir arbeiten auch im Sinn von Sander, indem wir unser Objekt akzeptieren, und es nicht manipulieren. Wir stellen Dinge, die wir fotografieren, so dar, wie sie sind, nicht so, wie sie sein sollten, oder wie wir sie vielleicht gerne sähen.⁸⁷⁶

His use of the house-face analogy is surprising considering the fact that the portrait had become absolutely impossible due to its problematic history.⁸⁷⁷ Who, in 1958, would want to see a portrait collection of ordinary Germans, most of which were presumably Nazis? But he did want to show aspects of identity of a certain space, and the intact modern houses of the Sieg Valley reflected a confluence of several periods while offering enough similarities to be used serially. The no-frills late 19th century structures became difficult but at the same time funny, when they begin to receive postwar makeovers. Becher tried to recreate August Sander's project with motifs—houses—he knew were difficult, but which he might somehow be able to pull to the fore and redeem. These houses, he must have thought, can just as well play the roles Sander gave his subjects in his German typology scheme. Becher was an antipode to zealous pedagogues like Paul Schultze-Naumburg.

Becher's interest was different than that of his reactionary predecessors as he was not interested in providing ideal or idealized models. He wanted neither an ideal architecture nor an ideal physiognomy, but rather an empathetic experience of the idiomatic, odd, and obviously

Sauberkeit weiß gestrichener Fenster und Türen, der feinen Gepflegtheit des Vorgartens, der liebevollen Inszenierung von Vorhängen und Topfpflanzen in den Fenstern bleiben immer wieder die Notwendigkeiten und Zwänge des Arbeitslebens und des Broterwerbs spürbar und sichtbar. [...] Es ist die Alltagsseite des Hauses, die nicht gerne jedem gezeigt wird, die zusammen mit der Straßenfront jenes Psychogramm seiner Bewohner erst ergibt, das den über das einfach Dokument hinausgehenden Reiz dieser Arbeiten von Bernd und Hilla Becher ausmacht."

Rathke, Christian. "Eine Vorbemerkung zu den Fachwerkhäusern des Siegener Industriegebiets." In: Becher, Bernd & Hilla. *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes*. Exh. Cat. Wuppertal: Kunst- und Museumsverein, 1979, n.p.

⁸⁷⁶ Haase, Amine. *Gespräche mit Künstlern*. Cologne: Wienand, 1980, p. 24.

Also:

"They [industrial structures] were not photographed because they were no longer in an ideal condition. They looked like old people, in a manner of speaking. They'd already been renovated on a few times. And that's the very thing that kept them alive. The fact that they had continued to function for so long interested us."

Siegelaub, Seth. "The context of art / the art of context: artists on art, the art world & life since 1969." *Kunst & museumjournaal* (English ed.), vol. 7, no. 1-3 (1996), p. 65.

⁸⁷⁷ In a recent article, Michael Fried places what he calls "facingness" in Becher's photographs into a modernist tradition, citing Cézanne. This however disregards the utterly important and embattled genre of the portrait in the interwar period and during WWII.

Fried, Michael. "Barthes's *Punctum*." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 31, no. 3 (Spring 2005), p. 569.

transient. It was precisely these foibles that made the building's architecture, which Becher described as "Calvinist Baroque," particularly endearing to Bernd Becher.⁸⁷⁸ Late in his life, Bernd Becher, who himself owned a framework house in the Sieg Valley where his grandfather's mining shoes hung from a wall, did not deny the emotional motivation for these images.⁸⁷⁹ In a 2002 interview he referred to his childhood: "All my ancestors... were employed in the mining and steel industries. For me, it was a real extension of childhood – looking for places similar to where I grew up."⁸⁸⁰ To Becher, the memory of this childhood was strongly defined by the houses and their properties, including the thin walls, which reminded Becher of the stage set of a puppet theater, in which the backstage puppets bulged the set's walls.⁸⁸¹ Becher felt compassion for the building's weaknesses and their castaway image in the postwar era: "Die Häuser hatten für mich was Komisches, typisch für die Gegend [...], die Leute fanden die hässlich, wenn man konnte, suchte man sich was anderes."⁸⁸² In a recent interview with Rainer Stollmann, Oskar Negt confirms that around 1972, human desire [*Bedürfnisse*] could not be discussed "from an anthropological perspective," since that would have been seen as an ahistorical, "scientific" filter serving as an essential veil.⁸⁸³ The photograph's aesthetic is a result not only of formal considerations, but also of Becher's extreme anxiety about showing any passion toward his subjects, the buildings that are *equivalent* to people.

⁸⁷⁸ Ziegler (2002), p. 98.

⁸⁷⁹ Author's interview with the artist at his home in Düsseldorf, May 3rd, 2006.

⁸⁸⁰ Ziegler (2002), p. 98.

⁸⁸¹ Becher described feeling like a tightrope artist looking out of the framework houses.

Author's interview with the artist at his home in Düsseldorf, May 3rd, 2006.

⁸⁸² Author's interview with the artist at his home in Düsseldorf, May 3rd, 2006.

⁸⁸³ Schulte, Christian/Stollmann, Rainer (eds.). *Der Maulwurf kennt kein System. Beiträge zur gemeinsamen Philosophie von Oskar Negt und Alexander Kluge*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2005, pp. 12-13.

CONCLUSION

“Sobald [eine ästhetische Erfahrung] explorativ für die
Aufhellung einer lebengeschichtlichen Situation
genutzt, auf Lebensprobleme bezogen wird, tritt sie in
ein Sprachspiel ein, das nicht mehr das der ästhetischen
Kritik ist. Die ästhetische Erfahrung erneuert dann nicht
nur die Interpretationen der Bedürfnisse, in deren Licht
wir die Welt wahrnehmen; sie greift gleichzeitig in die
kognitiven Deutungen und die normativen Wertungen
ein und verändert die Art, wie alle diese Momente
aufeinander *verweisen*.”⁸⁸⁴

Jürgen Habermas

Throughout the twentieth century, the production of architectural photography continuously transgressed and subverted the modes and routine of existing bodies of work and their context. Even more so, by it provided a space for a discourse of architecture, ideology, politics, and society that had not yet resolved its core ambiguities or even developed discursive tools. Instead, concepts such as the face, bureaucratic professionalization, caricature, and standardization served to provide albeit unstable principles of organization.

For Paul Schultze-Naumburg and other Wilhelmine conservatives, the face personified important models for identification and provided a means to situate oneself by describing a particular subjective sight as universal. The representation of the house's face in photographs seemed like an indisputable evidence of the existence of historical orders and rules until the „faceless,“ modernist house appeared. Along with modernist architecture came the professionalization of architectural photography through photographers such as Albert Renger-Patzsch. The clean, repetitive images made it obvious that not preservation but only pervasive modernization could lead to a new, if fatal, national image. The prevasiveness of systems of visual representations during the 1930s revealed contradictory ambitions: on one hand the fascist conviction purported by photographers such as Erna Lendvai-Dirksen that idealized images of houses and faces could and would manifest an invincible concept of *Weltanschauung*, on the other hand the awareness

⁸⁸⁴ Habermas, Jürgen. “Die Moderne – ein unvollendetes Projekt.” In: Habermas, Jürgen. *Die Moderne – ein unvollendetes Projekt. Philosophisch-politische Aufsätze*. Leipzig: Reclam Verlag, 1990, p. 50. [32-54]

that any such system was outdated and absurd once it was visually fixated as in the work of August Sander. Bernd Becher finally, utilized the predominant mode of postwar production, standardization, to exhaustively explore architectural photography's premises and pitfalls. He succeeded in making architecture photography viable through an insistence on a multitude of discrete instances of façade-watching, façade-changing, and façade-photographing. In working through the complex range of historical modalities of representation personified by figures such as Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Albert Renger-Patzsch, August Sander, and Erna Lendvai-Dirksen, Becher's work achieved an eventual permeation of society through motifs as banal and as burdened as building façades. The photographs uphold the modern promise of enlightened, collective public experience. Bernd Becher's house photographs and their production are crucial in investigating the effect of technocracy on public space and in thinking about the past effects of modernization with regards to their cultural, social, and political ramifications.

Naturalization of Architecture Photographs

Architectural photography has lost its strangeness and current German artists' success with architectural photography was built on Becher's achievement in the face of the social anomie of postwar Germany to purge the German architectural and human portrait of its unbearable twentieth-century history. The understanding of Becher's early work has been strongly tainted not only by the success of the Bernd and Hilla Becher's collaborative work, but also by that of the so-called Becher-School.⁸⁸⁵ During the 1980s, German architectural photography was firmly situated in the postmodern art world without ambiguity. Indeed, contemporary German photographers and their renditions of built space are among the most successful contemporary artists worldwide. Several of them are former students of Becher's at the

⁸⁸⁵ Bernd Becher became professor at the Düsseldorf Art Academy in 1976, while Hilla Becher did not receive an official appointment. According to Candida Höfer, Becher did not influence his students in their choice of motifs, instead discussion were limited to reviews at the end of the academic year. Höfer claims, that, like her, most students already had decided on a specific theme, before they were accepted into Becher's class.

"Ereignisloser Raum? Candida Höfer im Gespräch mit Gerda Breuer, Joachim Clüsserath und Thordis Ohler." In: Breuer, Gerda (ed.). *Innenhaut und Aussenraum. Mutmaßungen zu einem gestörten Verhältnis zwischen Photographie und Architektur*. Frankfurt: Anabas Verlag, 1997, p. 123. [122-4]

Several exhibitions, books, and articles have discussed the so-called "Becher-School."

Steinhauser, Monika/Derenthal, Ludger (eds.). *Ansicht. Aussicht. Einsicht*. Exh. Cat. Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 2000.

Pfab, Rupert. *Studien zur Düsseldorfer Photographie: die frühen Akademieschüler von Bernd Becher*. Weimar: VDG, 2001.

Misselbeck, Reinhold (ed.). *Photographie in der deutschen Gegenwartskunst*. Exh. Cat. Cologne: Gesellschaft für moderne Gegenwartskunst am Museum Ludwig, 1994.

Düsseldorf Art Academy, where he taught from 1976 to 1996. In particular, Axel Hütte, Candida Höfer, Thomas Struth, Thomas Ruff, and Andreas Gursky – “Struffsky,” as the latter three have collectively been titled in the art world since the early 1990s – have enjoyed immense popularity with their images of buildings, city spaces, and faces. Their supposedly Becheresque physical and visual detachment has often been thematized as a “typical” unifying feature, as has their likeness to documentary photography.⁸⁸⁶ But while all of them were at least encouraged to focus on architecture, they figuratively and literally left Germany for their art production, even if, in their early work, they (mis)stepped into the remnants Germany’s murky past.

Take, for instance, Candida Höfer’s seminal project *Türken in Deutschland, 1972-9*, which has received little scholarly attention.⁸⁸⁷ Höfer (born 1944 in Eberswalde) had trained as a photographer and worked in professional studios since 1963, and only entered the Düsseldorf Academy in 1973. Her earliest photographs traced the spaces that groups of people allegedly occupied on a short trip to Liverpool in 1968 (“Liverpool Scene”). For *Türken in Deutschland, 1972-9*, Höfer sought out spaces in Cologne where Turkish immigrants lived or worked, only to withdraw from the project once its problematic questions regarding facial and racial registration became obvious at the sight of the photographs. In most of these indoor photographs, “the Turks” are occupying German postwar spaces abandoned by Germans (fig. 5.1). A traditional German butcher shop in the photo “Weidengasse Köln 1975,” for instance, can only be identified as Turkish because of the four men with dark complexions standing in German butchers’ attire. Upon closer inspection, the lamb head, uncommon for German cuisine, might also provide a further hint.⁸⁸⁸ In “Eckermannstraße Hamburg 1978” a Turkish shopkeeper stands behind the sales counter of what would have had been called a “Tante-Emma-Laden” under German management.⁸⁸⁹ The shop’s interior appears to have remained complete with an older cash register, scale, and marble counter top. Only the new flowered wallpaper and the white DIY

⁸⁸⁶ Hubertus von Amelunxen is one of the few scholars to criticize the endless repetition of the Bechers’ (and their students’) supposed “distance.”

Amelunxen, Hubertus von. “Behind: A Paralipomenon to Bernd and Hilla Becher.” In: Mack, Michael (ed.). *Reconstructing Space: Architecture in Recent German Photography*. London: Architectural Association, 1999, p. 27. [26-31]

Distanz und Nähe: fotografische Arbeiten von Bernd und Hilla Becher, Andreas Gursky, Candida Höfer, Axel Hütte, Simone Nieweg, Thomas Ruff, Jörg Sasse, Thomas Struth, Petra Wunderlich. Exh. Cat. Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1992.

Aus der Distanz. Exh. Cat. Düsseldorf: Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1991.

Kulturkreis im Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie e. V. (ed.). *Foto/Realismen*. Exh. Cat. Ditzingen-Heimerdingen: Grafisches Zentrum Technik, 1987, n.p.

⁸⁸⁷ Höfer, Candida. *Türken in Deutschland*. Cologne: Vista-Point-Verlag, 1980.

⁸⁸⁸ Lange, Susanne. “Von Anfang an. Zum photographischen Oeuvre von Candida Höfer.” In: *Candida Höfer. Orte – Jahre. Photographien 1968-1999*. Exh. Cat. Photographische Sammlung. Munich et al.: Schirmer Mosel, 2000, p. 32.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

shelving system, upon which goods are neatly arranged, seem to have been installed more recently, probably because the older shelves were torn out when the previous shopkeeper gave up the store. The shopkeeper, donning a smock and standing in a slightly stiff pose behind his glass display case, gazes back at the photographer.⁸⁹⁰ Candida Höfer later said that she regretted this “intrusion into the private sphere of Turkish families – because we really didn’t have anything to say to each other and I am not a sociologist that could be interested in something like that. A public space I can enter and immediately start photographing without being bothered. Public space is larger than private space.”⁸⁹¹ In other words, Candida Höfer became entirely aware of the moral catastrophes associated with the inevitable processes of identification relating to portrait or architectural photography, and in particular the combination of both, in Germany’s political and photographic past.

Höfer’s photographs of corporate and governmental lobbies, libraries, museums, and waiting rooms from the late 1980s and 1990s reflect her digression from the problematic motif, the face, to empty architectural space which had by then apparently been purged of its ideological baggage through the work of Bernd and Hilla Becher in collaboration with galleries, museums, and critics worldwide. Höfer’s 1990 color photograph of the entrance lobby of the “Haus der Arbeitgeber Köln III,” for instance, shows a stark, large, and empty entrance space of a large administrative building from the 1960s or 1970s, identifiable by the expensive materials used to create a large but entirely unglamorous space: the foyer’s marble steps lead to an outdated small elevator and a short dark corridor for administrative offices.⁸⁹² “Zoologischer Garten Köln

⁸⁹⁰ At a 1979 exhibition at the Landesmuseum Bonn Höfer juxtaposed photographs titled “Turks in Germany” with such titled “Turks in Turkey.” The exhibition also included several “Becher-students” that are now relatively unknown, such as Tata Ronkholz (1940-77), in its roster of documentary photographers. *In Deutschland – Aspekte gegenwärtiger Dokumentarphotographie. Johannes Bönsel, Ulrich Görlich, Candida Höfer, Axel Hütte, Wilmar Koenig, Hans-Martin Küsters, Martin Manz, Hartmut Neubauer, Heinrich Riebesehl, Tata Ronkholz, Michael Schmidt, Wilhelm Schürmann, Thomas Struth. Exh. Cat. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn.* Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1979, pp. 208-221.

In 2000, when Höfer was an acclaimed artist, Becher expert Susanne Lange still described the photographs showing “Turks in Germany” versus “Turks in Turkey” as “documentary photography” hence effectively excluding the pictures from Höfer’s “artistic” work.

Lange, Susanne. “Von Anfang an. Zum photographischen Oeuvre von Candida Höfer.” In: *Candida Höfer. Orte – Jahre. Photographien 1968-1999.* Exh. Cat. Photographische Sammlung. Munich et al.: Schirmer Mosel, 2000, p. 10.

⁸⁹¹ Graw, Isabelle. „Düsseldorfer Künstler (II). Gesellschaftsraum. Ein Interview mit Candida Höfer.” *Artis.* 41, no. 11 (November 1989), p. 26.

⁸⁹² *Candida Höfer. Photographie.* Exh. Cat. Cologne: Wienand, 1992, fig. 1, n.p.

Höfer stated that she did not photograph outdoor spaces, because she would not have been able to decide on a subject and because it was more interesting to show public spaces that are not visible. In addition, the space may not be “too beautiful.” Höfer traveled a lot through Europe found her motifs by reading travel or specific architectural guides.

I,” finally, shows a polar bear in his concrete habitat, while 1970s residential high rises seem to sprout behind the zoo’s fantastic, modern, but slightly decrepit habitat architecture and botanical fixtures (fig. 5.2).⁸⁹³

By comparison, Thomas Struth (born 1954) established the recurring motifs of his signature images abroad, while on the coveted “New York stipend” of the Düsseldorf art academy in 1978. The fact alone that Struth received such a stipend points to his opportunities as a German born after the end of World War II. The Bechers always dreamed of moving to New York but could not afford to give up Bernd Becher’s tenured position at the Düsseldorf Academy.⁸⁹⁴ Thomas Struth, however, not only took some his most well known street photographs in New York (for instance, the dirty and empty “Crosby Street, New York 1978”), but was also able to exhibit his work at venues like P.S. 1 (fig. 5.3).⁸⁹⁵ Upon his return to Germany, Struth photographed the streets of Düsseldorf with an outsider view: “Düsselstraße, Düsseldorf 1979,” for instance, shows two blocks of a typical Düsseldorf Street flanked by four- and five-story residential buildings that were built or renovated in the 1960s.⁸⁹⁶ The street ends in a fork at which another building stands, while behind that a church tower rises like a party hat. The exterior of a building on the left hand side is covered with aseptic white tiles, while its upper floor residents have access to small balconies enclosed by a cheap material that shows signs of aging around its screws. All other façades on the picture are devoid of ornamentation or distinctive features; this, according to Struth, is the “un-historical” quality he seeks out in his postwar building motifs.⁸⁹⁷ Like Höfer, and unlike Becher, Struth is very eloquent about his motivation, his subjects, the art market, and his works’ reception. In an interview with Isabelle Graw, he states that he “decided” to place himself in the art market, because “each photographic

Graw, Isabelle. „Düsseldorfer Künstler (II). Gesellschaftsraum. Ein Interview mit Candida Höfer.” *Artis*. 41, no. 11 (November 1989), pp. 26-29.

⁸⁹³ *Candida Höfer. Zoologische Gärten*. Exh. Cat. Hagener Kunstverein Karl-Ernst-Osthaus Bund et al. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kunsthalle Bern. Munich: Schirmer Mosel, 1993, fig. 25.

⁸⁹⁴ The Bechers had only received stipends to travel to industrial sites in Great Britain and the industrial outback of Pennsylvania in the early 1960s.

⁸⁹⁵ *Thomas Struth. Unbewußte Orte. Unconscious Places*. Exh. Cat. Bern et al. Cologne: Walther König, 1988, p. 7.

Struth had initially entered the Düsseldorf Academy in 1973 as a student of painter Gerhard Richter’s. For a short overview over Struth’s career see:

Düwert, Viola/Metzger, Wolfgang. „Orte der Identität. Zu Thomas Struths Straßenbildern.“ Breuer, Gerda (ed.). *Innenhaut und Aussenraum. Mutmaßungen zu einem gestörten Verhältnis zwischen Photographie und Architektur*. Frankfurt: Anabas Verlag, 1997, pp. 103-114.

⁸⁹⁶ *Thomas Struth. Unbewußte Orte. Unconscious Places* (1988), p. 29.

⁸⁹⁷ Minelli, Gian Paolo. “Interview with Thomas Struth.” In: *Un'altra obiettività/Another Objectivity*. Exh. Cat. Milano: Idea Books, 1989, p. 193.

image holds a specific code, which tells us why a photograph was made in a certain way and on whom it should have an impression.”⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁸ Graw, Isabelle. „Düsseldorfer Künstler (III). Ortskunde. Ein Interview mit Thomas Struth.” *Artis* 41, no. 12 (December 1989), p. 40.

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FIGURES

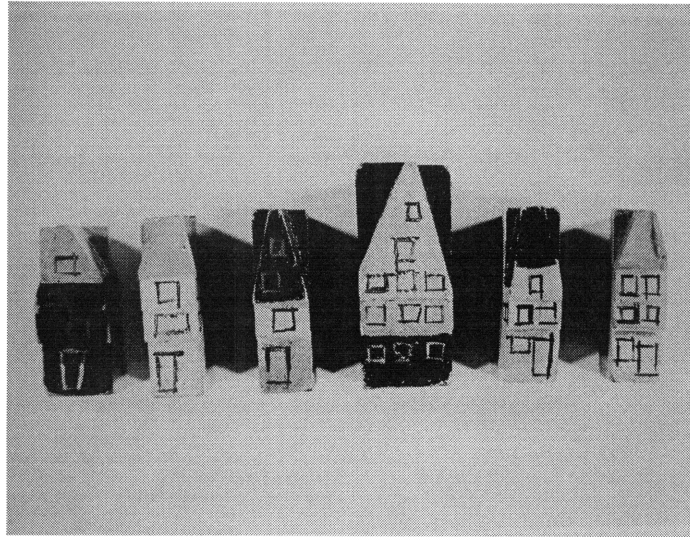


Fig. 0.1: Lyonel Feininger, Six wooden houses, 1920-25 (c. 9 x 4 x 4cm)
 From: Vittorio Lampugnani/Romana Schneider (eds.).
Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950 (Stuttgart, 1992).

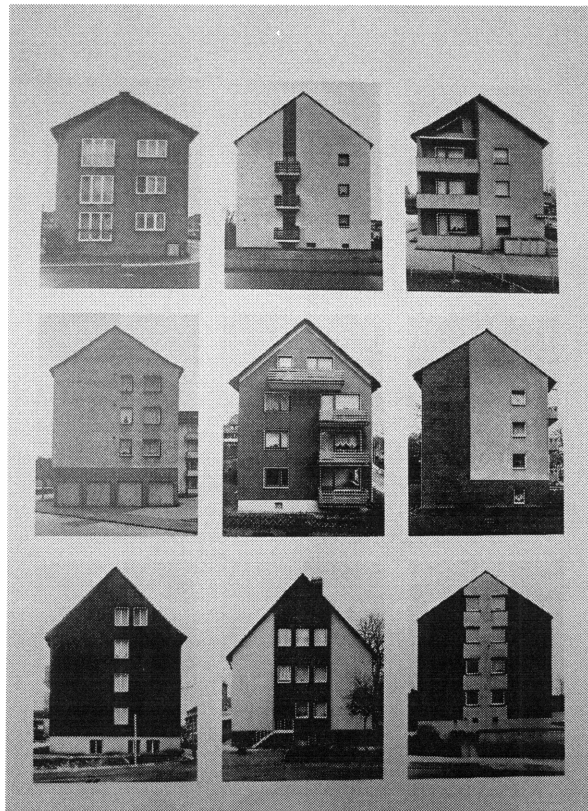


Fig. 0.2: Bernd and Hilla Becher, typology *Postwar Houses*, c. 1990.
 From: Martina Dobbe. *Bernd und Hilla Becher Fachwerkhäuser* (Siegen, 2001)



Fig. 0.3: Bernd Becher, Sulzfeld, c. 1990
Museum für Moderne Kunst,
Frankfurt/Main.



Fig. 0.4: Paul Schultze-Naumburg,
“German houses in their simplest form”
 (“Auf die einfachste Grundform gebrachte
 deutsche Wohnhäuser”).
 From: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. *Das
 Gesicht des deutschen Hauses* (Munich,
 1929).



Fig. 1.1: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel* ("Bourgeois Homes")
 From: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten. Vol. 1 Hausbau* (Munich, 1901).

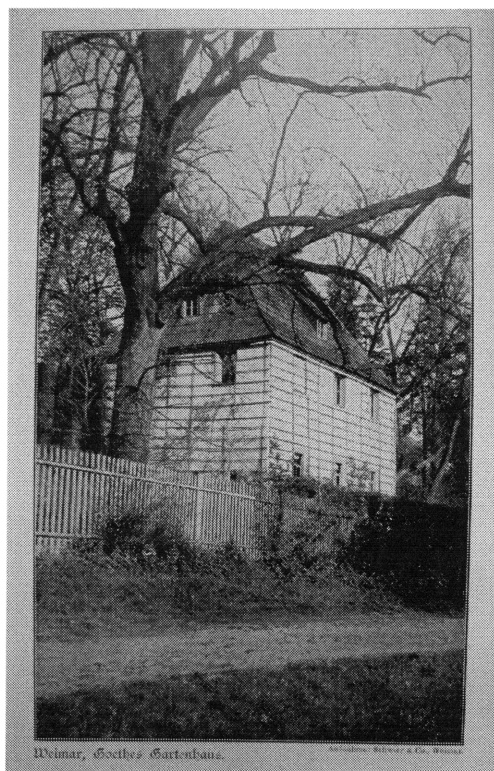


Fig. 1.2: Schwier & Co, Goethes Gartenhaus.
 From: *Die schöne Heimat. Bilder aus Deutschland* (Kronberg, 1915).

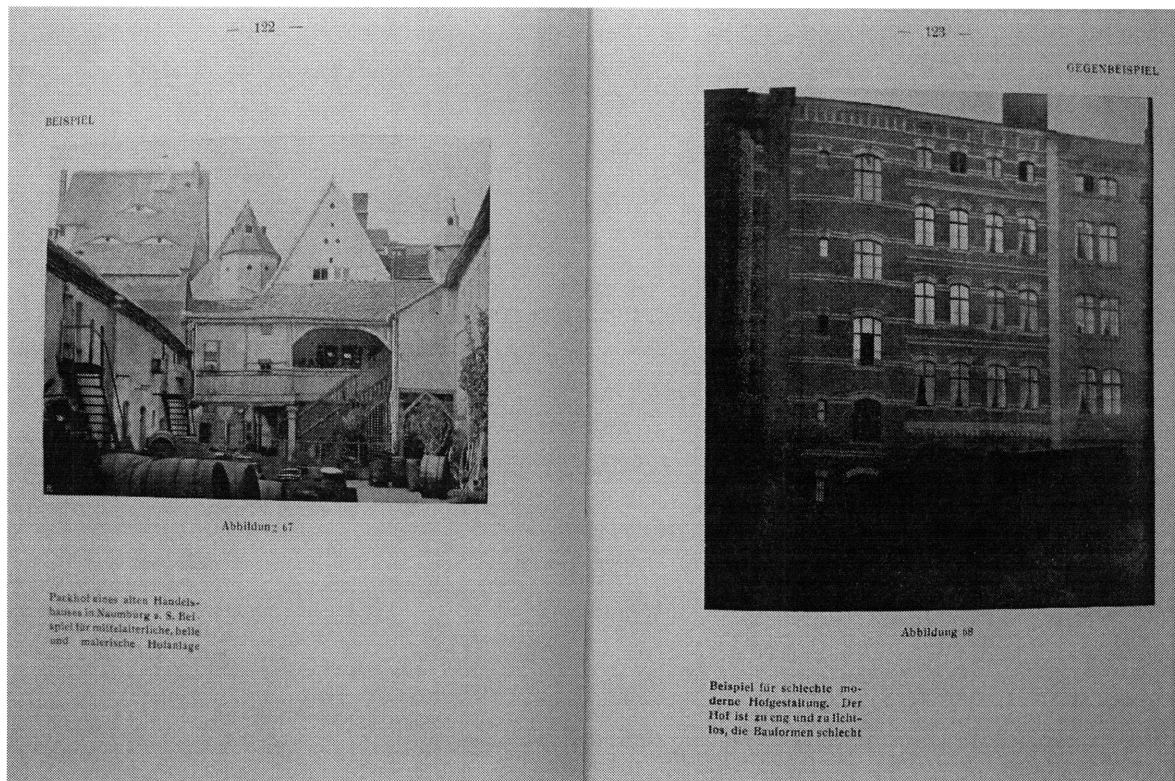


Fig. 1.3: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. *Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel* („Courtyards“).
From: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. *Kulturarbeiten. Vol. 4 Städtebau* (Munich, 1906).

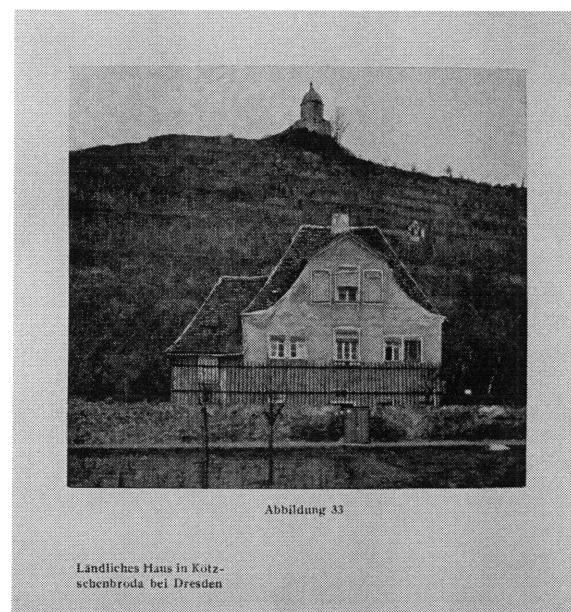


Fig. 1.4: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. *Ländliches Haus in Kötzschenbroda bei Dresden*.
From: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. *Kulturarbeiten Vol. 5 Das Kleinbürgerhaus* (Munich, 1907).

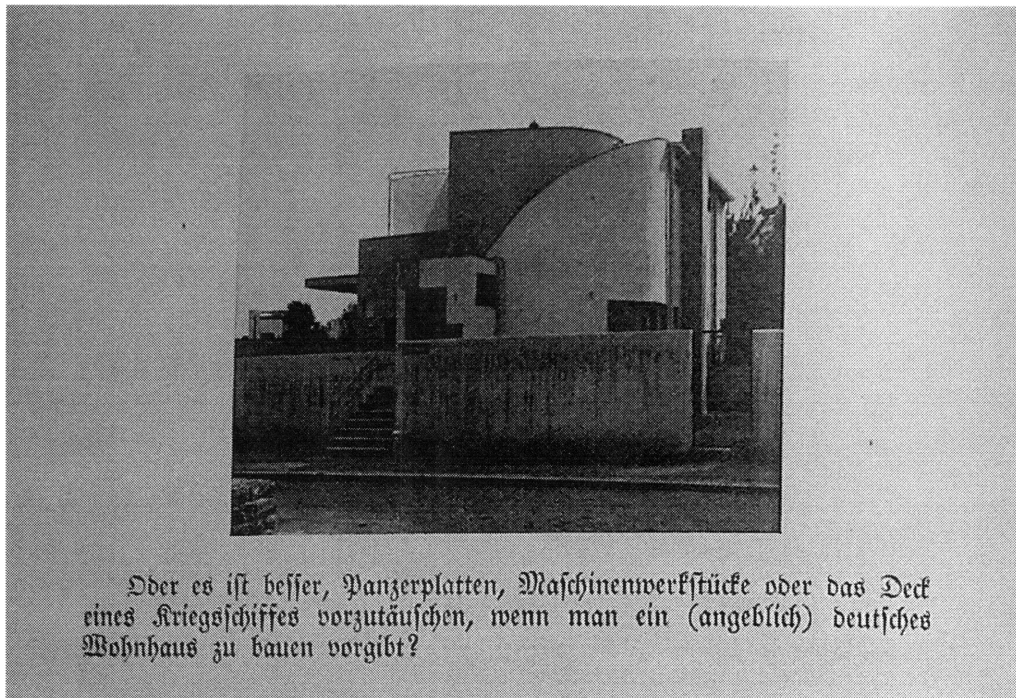


Fig. 1.5: Paul Schultze-Naumburg
 "...a (supposedly) German House..." (Scharoun House, Stuttgart-Weissenhof)
 From: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. *Kampf um die Kunst* (Munich, 1932).

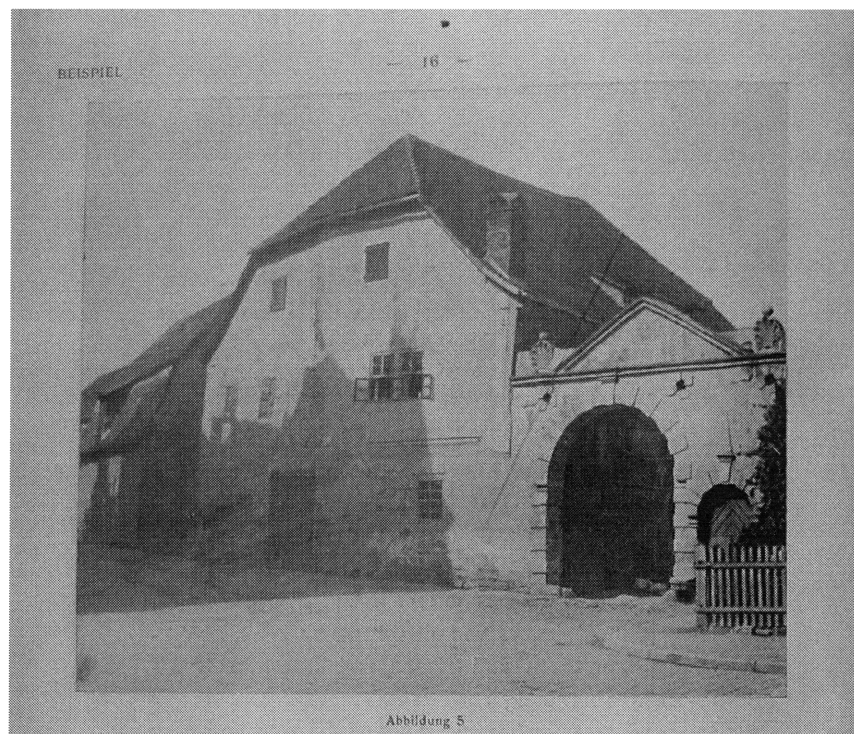


Fig. 1.6: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, "an honest wide face" ("ein breites ehrliches Gesicht")
 From: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. *Kulturarbeiten. Vol. 1 Hausbau* (Munich, 1901).

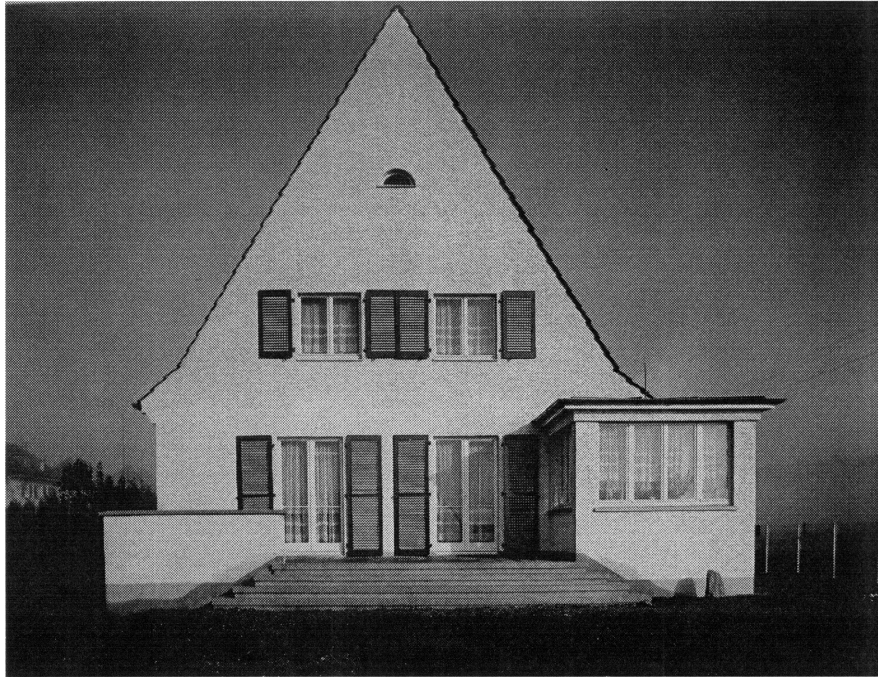


Fig. 2.1: Hugo Schmölz, Single Family House by Cologne, c. 1930.
From: Misselbeck, Reinhold. *Köln lebt - Fotografien von Hugo und Karl Hugo Schmölz* (Cologne, 1995).



Fig. 2.2: Werner Mantz
Küche in einem Reihnhaus der Gemeinnützigen Aktien-Gesellschaft für Wohnungsbau.
From: Werner Mantz. *Fotografien 1926-1938* (Bonn, 1978).

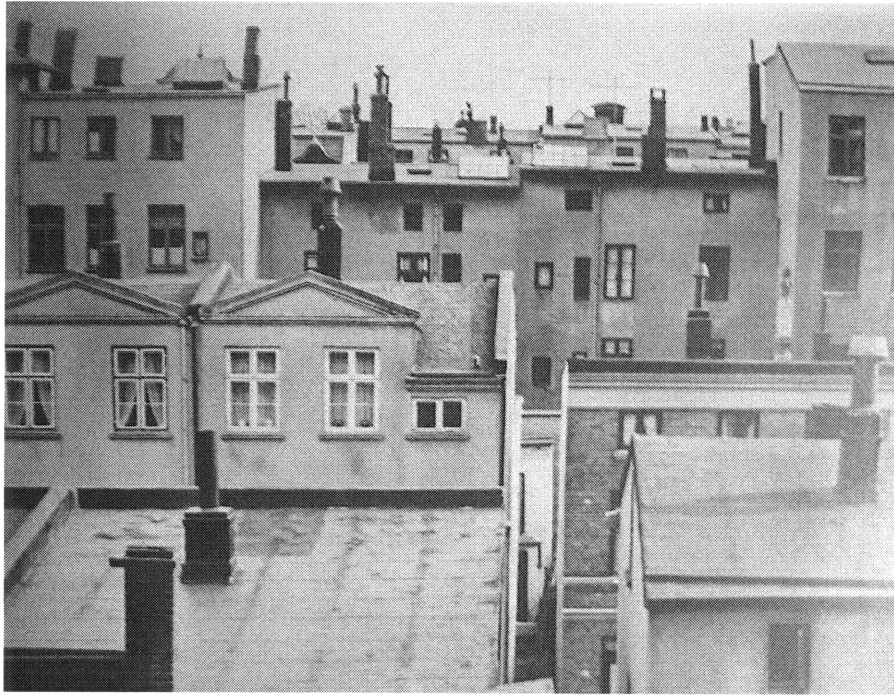


Fig. 2.3: Albert Renger-Patzsch, *Vorstadthäuser*.
From: Albert Renger-Patzsch. *Die Welt ist schön* (Munich, 1928).

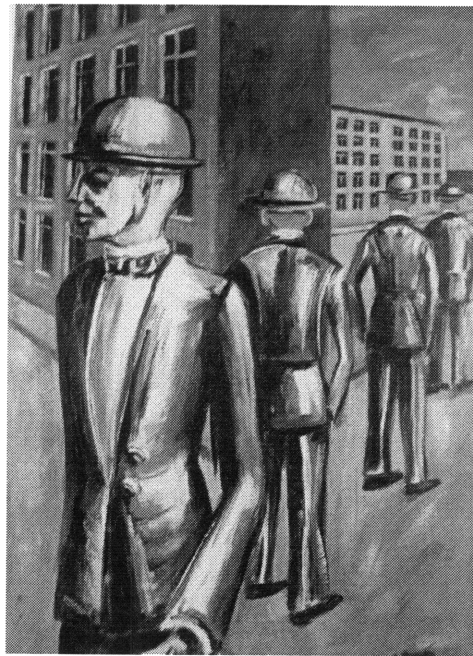


Fig. 2.4: Anton Räderscheidt, *Self-Portrait in Industrial Landscape* (1923)
From: *Zeitnah Weltfern. Bilder der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Würzburg, 1998).



Fig. 2.5: Albert Renger-Patzsch, *Häuser in Essen-Segeroth* (1932)
From: Wilde, Ann and Jürgen (eds.). *Albert Renger-Patzsch. Ruhrgebiet-Landschaften 1927-1935* (Cologne, 1982).

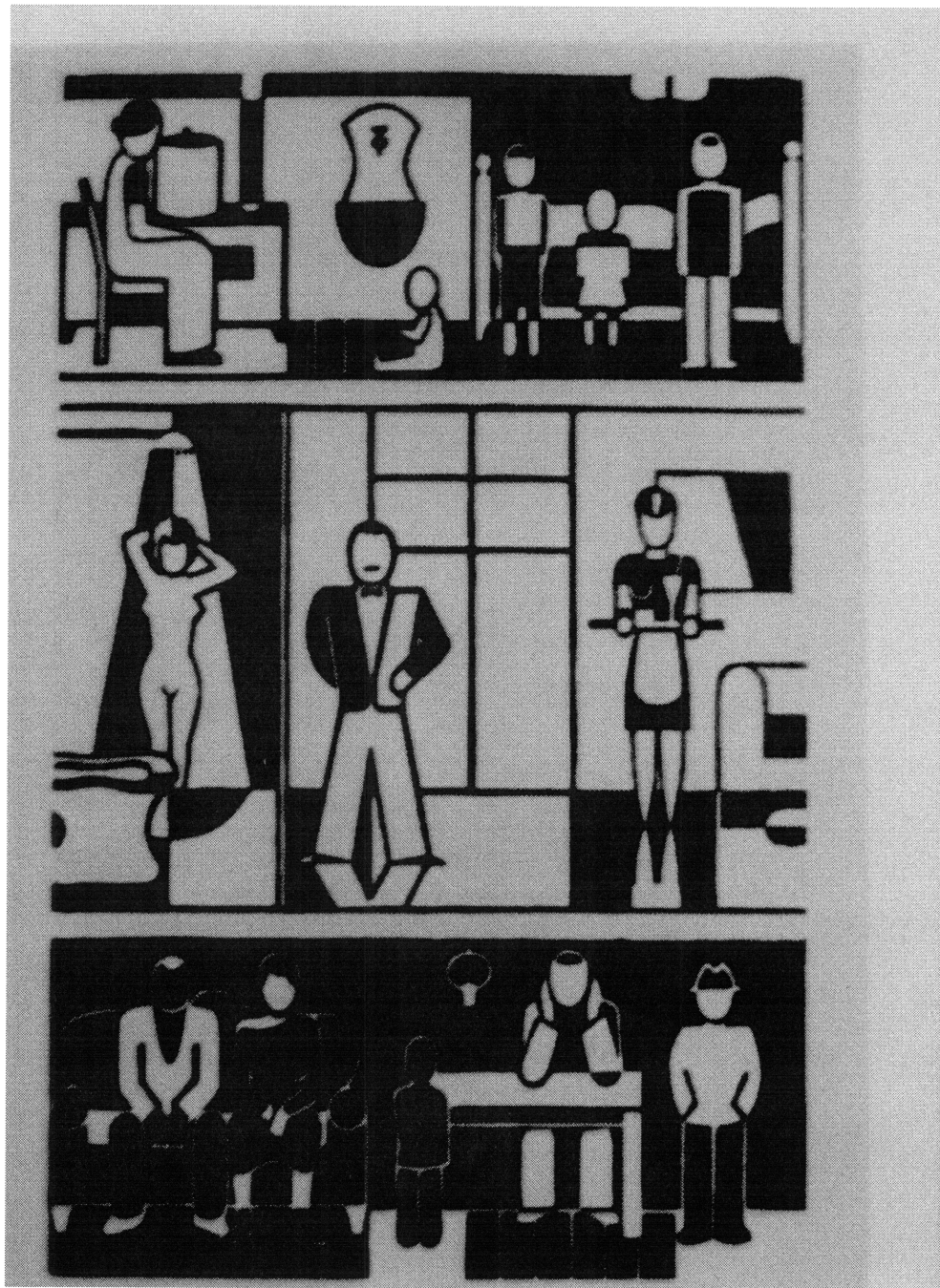


Fig. 2.6: Gerd Arntz, *Wohnhaus* (1927)
 From: *Gerd Arntz – Zwölf Häuser der Zeit – zwölf signierte Holzschnitte* (Berlin, 1973).

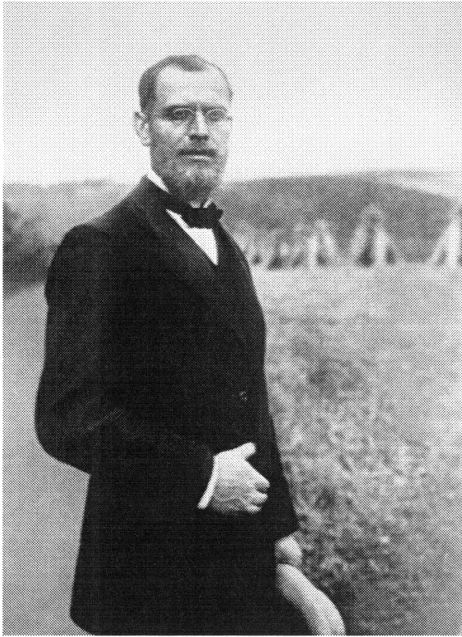


Fig. 3.1: August Sander, plate 11, *Der Herr Lehrer (Village Teacher)* (1910)
From: August Sander. *Antlitz der Zeit. Sechzig Aufnahmen deutscher Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1929).



Fig. 3.2: August Sander, plate 25, *Revolutionäre (Revolutionaries)* (n.d.)
From: August Sander. *Antlitz der Zeit. Sechzig Aufnahmen deutscher Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1929).



Fig. 3.3: August Sander, plate 33, *Jugendbewegung (Youth Movement)* (1923)
From: August Sander. *Antlitz der Zeit. Sechzig Aufnahmen deutscher Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1929).

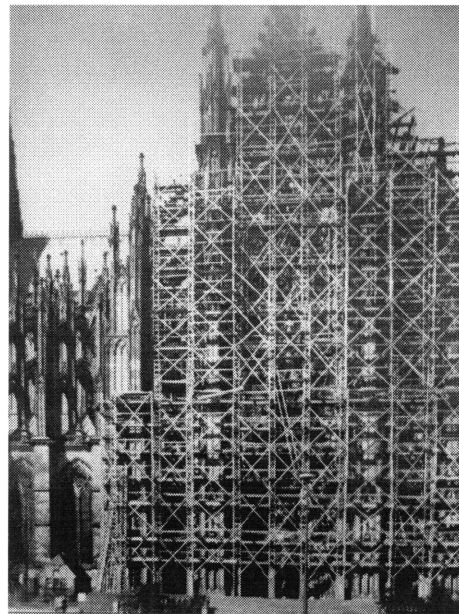


Fig. 3.4: August Sander, *Dombaugerüst* (n.d.)
From: Schäfke, Werner (ed.). *August Sander. Köln wie es war* (Cologne, 1988).

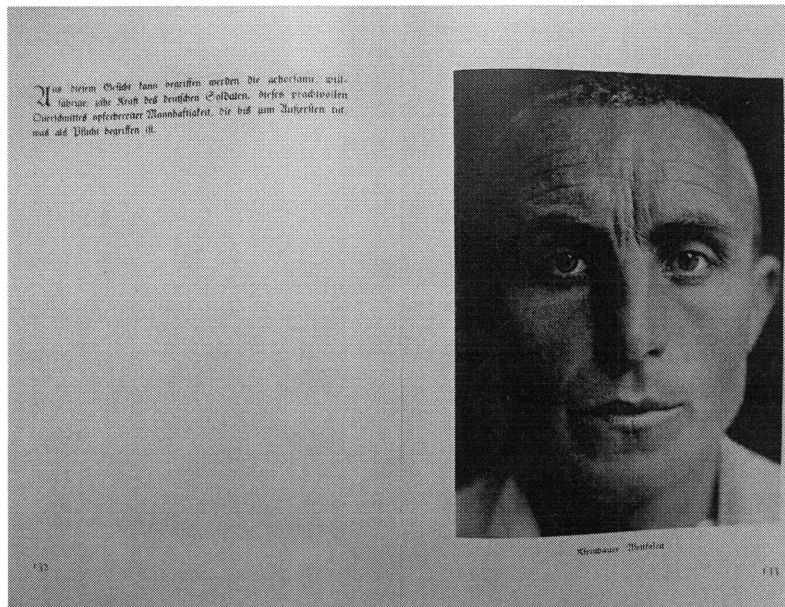


Fig. 3.5: Erna Lendvai-Dircksen, "Farmer Westphalia" ("Kleinbauer Westfalen"), c. 1930.
From: Erna Lendvai-Dircksen. *Das Deutsche Volksgesicht* (Berlin, 1930).



Fig. 3.6: Hans Retzlaff, *Braut aus Rode*
From: Hans Retzlaff. *Bildnis eines deutschen Bauernvolkes. Die Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Berlin, 1939).



Fig. 3.7: Ortschronik Niederschelden, 1938-87 (Stadtarchiv Siegen)

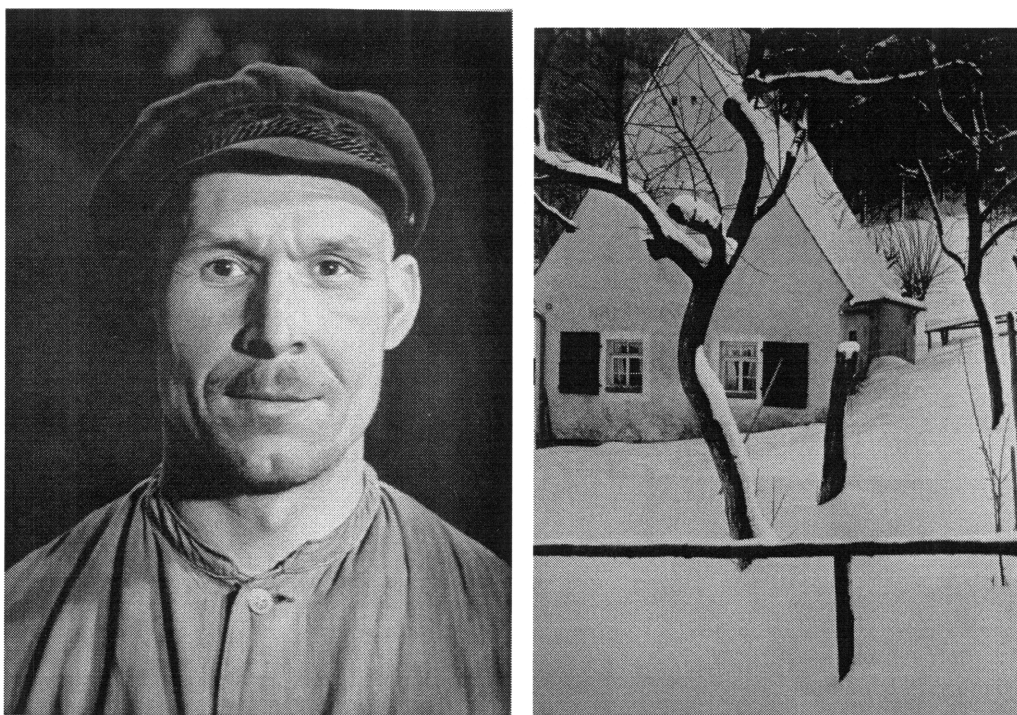


Fig. 3.8: Photographs by Albert Renger-Patzsch
From: *Kupferhammer Grünthal. Vierhundert Jahre deutscher Arbeiterkultur 1537-1937*
(Grünthal-Aue, 1937).



Fig. 3.9: Art historians at a training camp in Kiel (1934)
From: Thomas Scheck. *Denkmalpflege und Diktatur: die Erhaltung von Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern in Schleswig-Holstein und im Deutschen Reich zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1995).

Richtwerte für die Öffentlichen Einrichtungen in einer Stadt von 20000 Einwohnern.
Die jeweiligen Richtwerte können nur benutzt werden nach eingehender Durcharbeitung der entsprechenden Textseiten unter genauer Berücksichtigung der örtlichen Verhältnisse.

Einrichtung	Bemerkungen	Fläche (m²)	Stärke	Einrichtung	Fläche (m²)	Bemerkungen	Einrichtung	Fläche (m²)	Bemerkungen
1. Schulhaus	1. Schulhaus	1000-1500 m²	10-15	2. Schulhaus	1000-1500 m²	10-15	3. Schulhaus	1000-1500 m²	10-15
4. Kindertagesstätte	4. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	5. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	6. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
7. Kindertagesstätte	7. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	8. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	9. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
10. Kindertagesstätte	10. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	11. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	12. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
13. Kindertagesstätte	13. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	14. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	15. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
16. Kindertagesstätte	16. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	17. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	18. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
19. Kindertagesstätte	19. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	20. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	21. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
22. Kindertagesstätte	22. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	23. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	24. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
25. Kindertagesstätte	25. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	26. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	27. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
28. Kindertagesstätte	28. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	29. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	30. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
31. Kindertagesstätte	31. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	32. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	33. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
34. Kindertagesstätte	34. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	35. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	36. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
37. Kindertagesstätte	37. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	38. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	39. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
40. Kindertagesstätte	40. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	41. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	42. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
43. Kindertagesstätte	43. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	44. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	45. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
46. Kindertagesstätte	46. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	47. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	48. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
49. Kindertagesstätte	49. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	50. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	51. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
52. Kindertagesstätte	52. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	53. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	54. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
55. Kindertagesstätte	55. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	56. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	57. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
58. Kindertagesstätte	58. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	59. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	60. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
61. Kindertagesstätte	61. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	62. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	63. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
64. Kindertagesstätte	64. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	65. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	66. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
67. Kindertagesstätte	67. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	68. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	69. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
70. Kindertagesstätte	70. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	71. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	72. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
73. Kindertagesstätte	73. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	74. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	75. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
76. Kindertagesstätte	76. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	77. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	78. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
79. Kindertagesstätte	79. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	80. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	81. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
82. Kindertagesstätte	82. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	83. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	84. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
85. Kindertagesstätte	85. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	86. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	87. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
88. Kindertagesstätte	88. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	89. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	90. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
91. Kindertagesstätte	91. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	92. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	93. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
94. Kindertagesstätte	94. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	95. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	96. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
97. Kindertagesstätte	97. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	98. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15	99. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15
100. Kindertagesstätte	100. Kindertagesstätte	1000-1500 m²	10-15						

Fig 3.10: Gottfried Feder, Poster "Standards for the Public Services in a Town of 20000 Inhabitants."
From: Gottfried Feder, *Die neue Stadt* (Berlin, 1939).

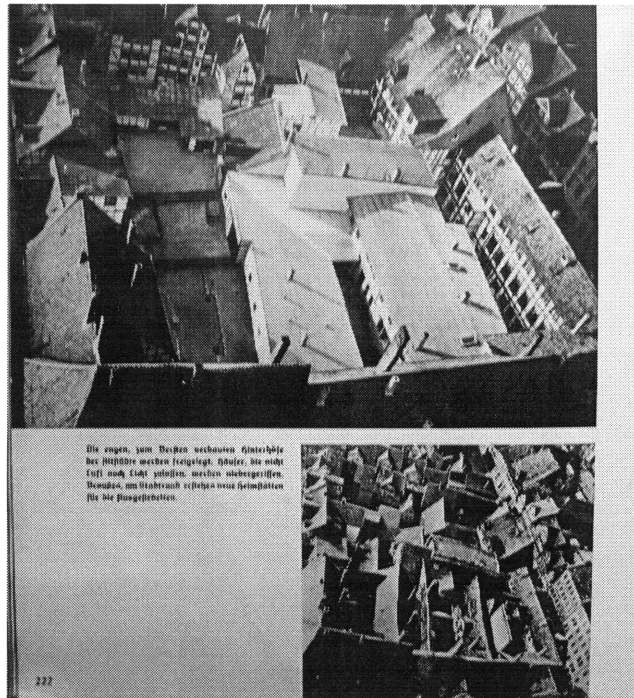


Fig. 3.11: *Braunschweig City Renewal*.
 From: Hans Schemm (ed.). *Deutsches Volk–Deutsche Heimat. Bildband* (Bayreuth, 1935).



Fig. 3.12: *Photo of suburban home*.
 From: Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (ed.).
Die Stadt. Ihre Pflege und Gestaltung (Munich, 1939).

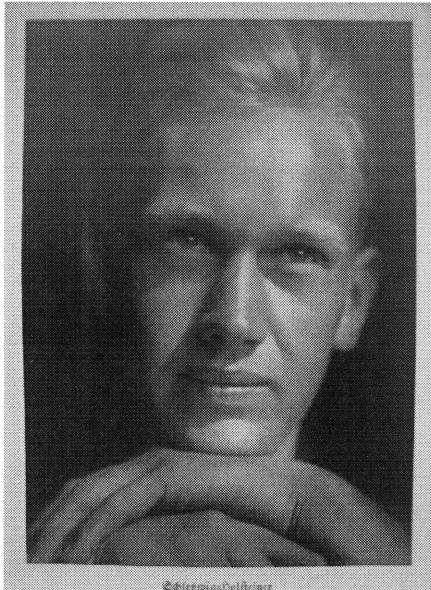


Fig. 3.13: Erna Lendvai-Dirksen, photograph of young man, c. 1935.
From: Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (ed.). *Das Dorf. Seine Pflege und Gestaltung*. (Munich, 1938).



Fig. 3.15: *House in Braunschweig-Mascherode*
From: *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen* (January 1938)

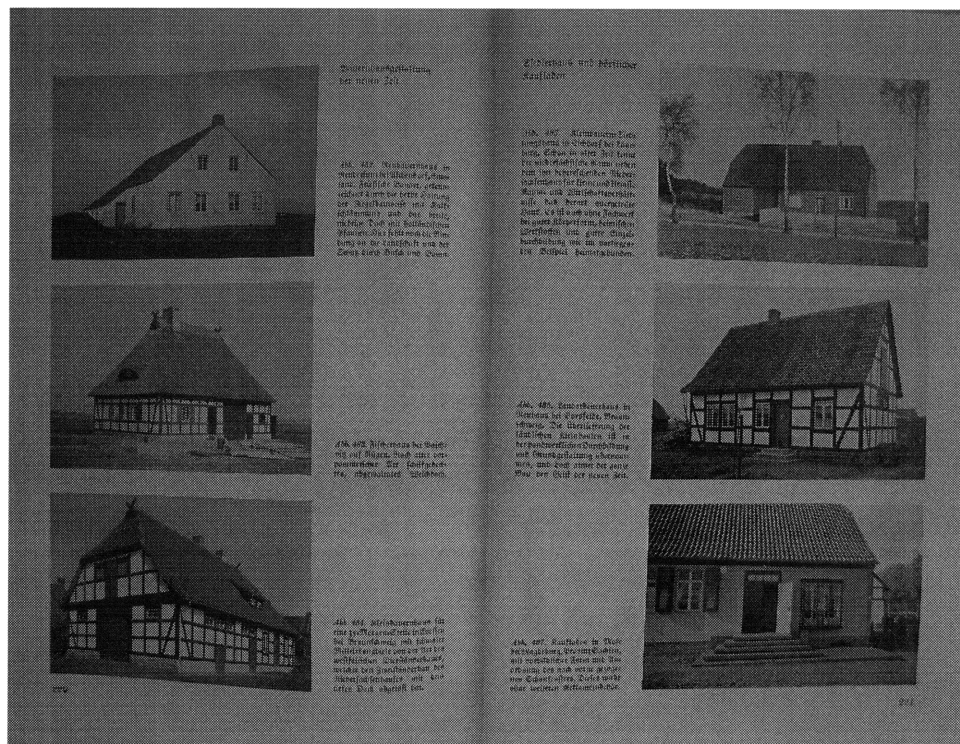


Fig. 3.14: Werner Lindner, page spread „*Farmhouse Designs of a New Time*“ („*Bauernhausgestaltung der neuen Zeit*“), 1938
From: Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP (ed.). *Das Dorf. Seine Pflege und Gestaltung*. (Munich, 1938).



Fig. 4.1: *Freudenberg im Siegerland.*

From: *Europäisches Denkmalschutzjahr 1975. Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 1975).

Der Miele-Inspizient
in der Großstadt Berlin.
Bisher 13 zentrale Waschanlagen
für mehr als 10.000 Haushalte.
Kostenlos von Miele geplant.



**Wir wollen,
daß Sie unsere Waschanlagen
einbauen. Daran verdienen wir.
Deshalb übernehmen wir
die Raumplanung kostenlos.
Mit Kalkulation
und Installations-Überwachung.
Mit allem,
was dazugehört.**

Fig. 4.2: Advertisement for Miele washing machines.
From: *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (November 1967).

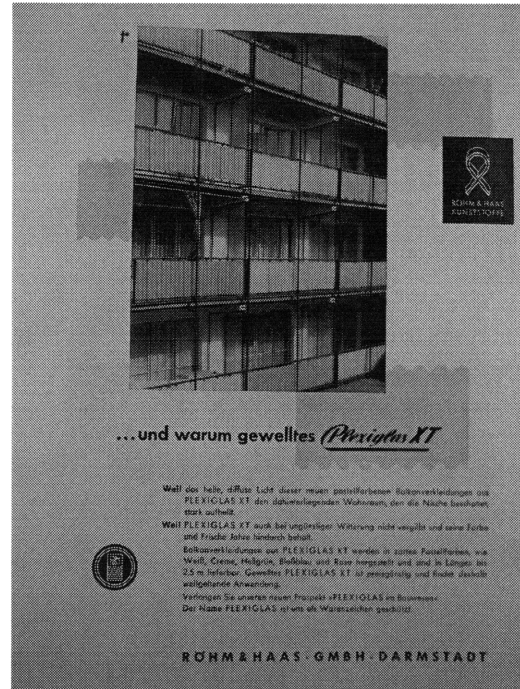


Fig. 4.3: Advertisements for Fulgurit and Plexiglas.
From: *Interbau Berlin 1957. Amtlicher Ausstellungskatalog* (Berlin, 1957).



Fig. 4.4: Fritz Fenzl, Photograph of postwar façade.
From: *Ruhrgebiet – Porträt ohne Pathos* (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1959).

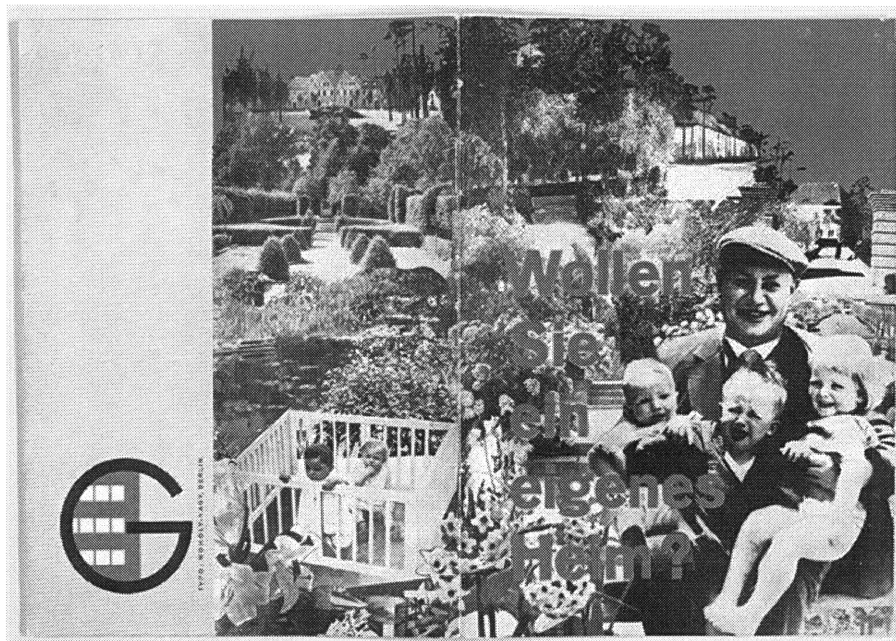


Fig. 4.5: Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, cover of a brochure for a modern housing development, c. 1930.
From: *Wollen Sie Ihr eigenes Heim?* (Berlin, 1930).

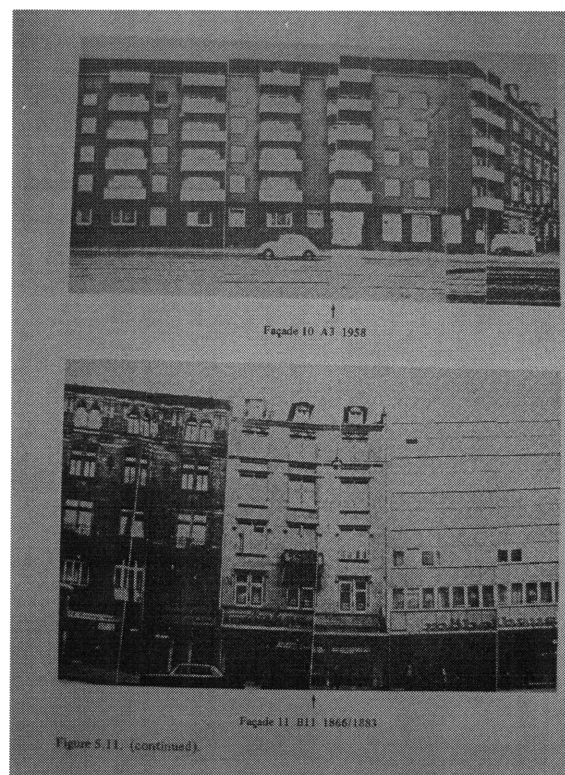


Fig. 4.6: Martin Krampen, photomontages used as stimuli in order to determine the attraction of
façades to subjects.
From: Martin Krampen. *Meaning in the Urban Environment* (London, 1979).

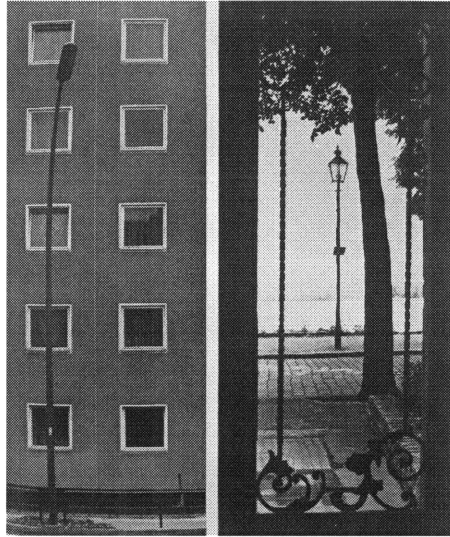


Fig. 4.7: Wolf Jobst Siedler/Elisabeth Niggemeyer, Photomontage.
From: Wolf Jobst Siedler et al. *Die gemordete Stadt. Abgesang auf Putte und Straße, Platz und Baum* (Berlin, 1964).



Fig. 4.8: Cover and illustration for the catalogue of the exhibition *Profitopolis*, 1972.
From: *Profitopolis oder Der Mensch braucht eine andere Stadt* (Munich, 1972).



Fig 4.9: Photomontages from *Werk und Zeit. Monatszeitung für Umweltgestaltung*. (Herausgeber Deutscher Werkbund) September 1973, vol. 22, no. 8, p. 3.
Werk und Zeit. Monatszeitung für Umweltgestaltung. December 1973, vol. 22, no. 12, p. 1.

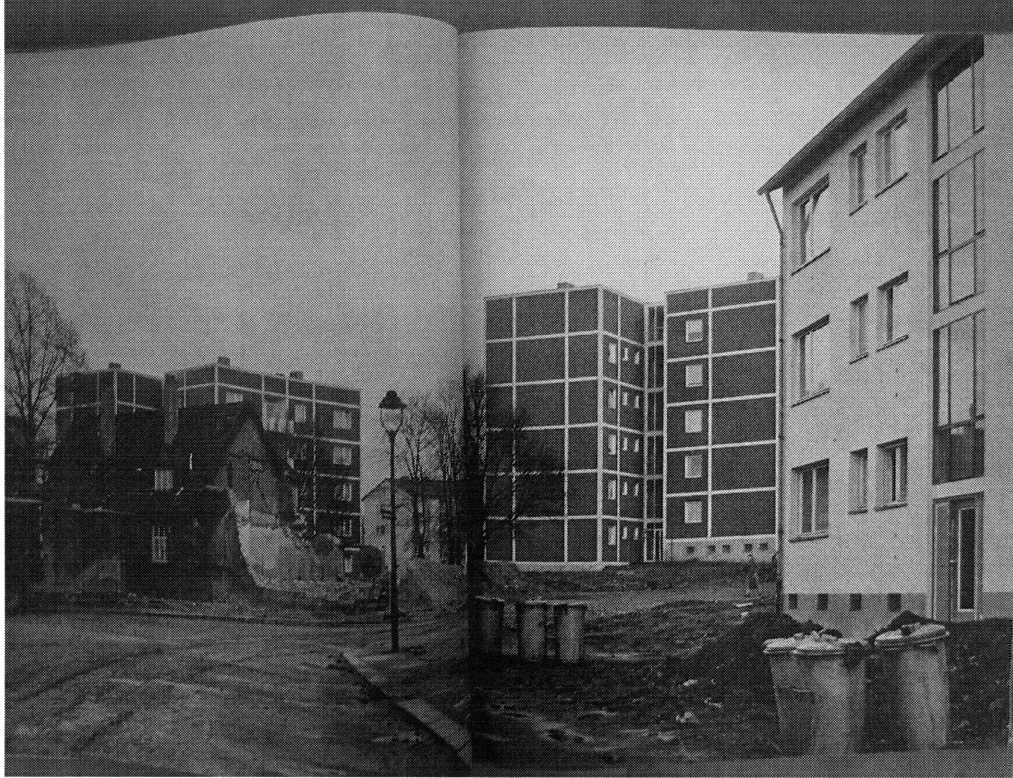


Fig. 4.8: Chargesheimer, plate 13, Postwar buildings and trash cans, c. 1955.
From: *Im Ruhrgebiet* (Cologne/Berlin, 1958).

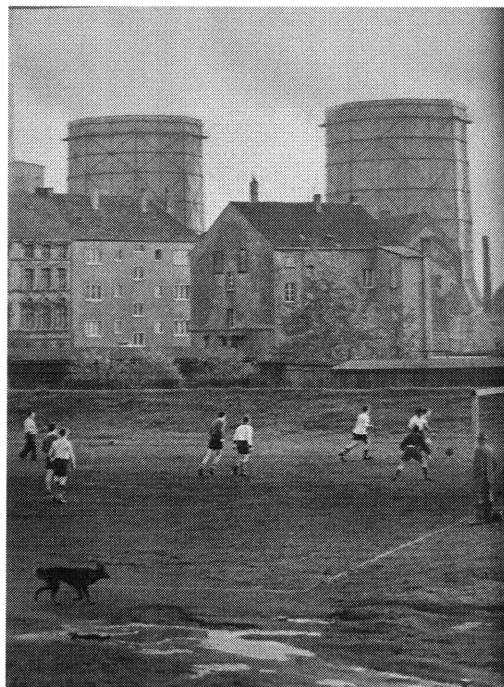


Fig. 4.9: Chargesheimer, plate 100. Soccer field, c. 1955.
From: *Im Ruhrgebiet* (Cologne/Berlin, 1958).



Fi. 4.10: Fritz Fenzl, *Randzone, Miners' Families, Avenue*
From: *Ruhrgebiet – Porträt ohne Pathos* (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1959).

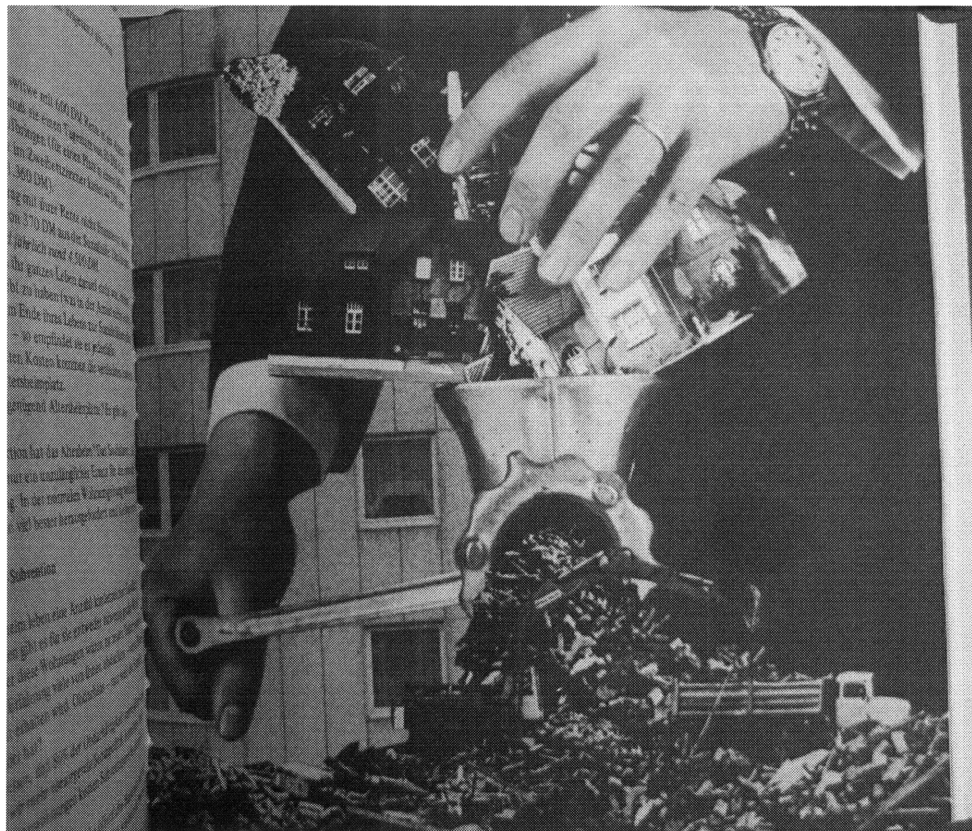


Fig. 4.11: Roland Günter, Photomontage, c. 1975.
From: Roland Günter, *Arbeiterinitiativen* (Westberlin, 1976).

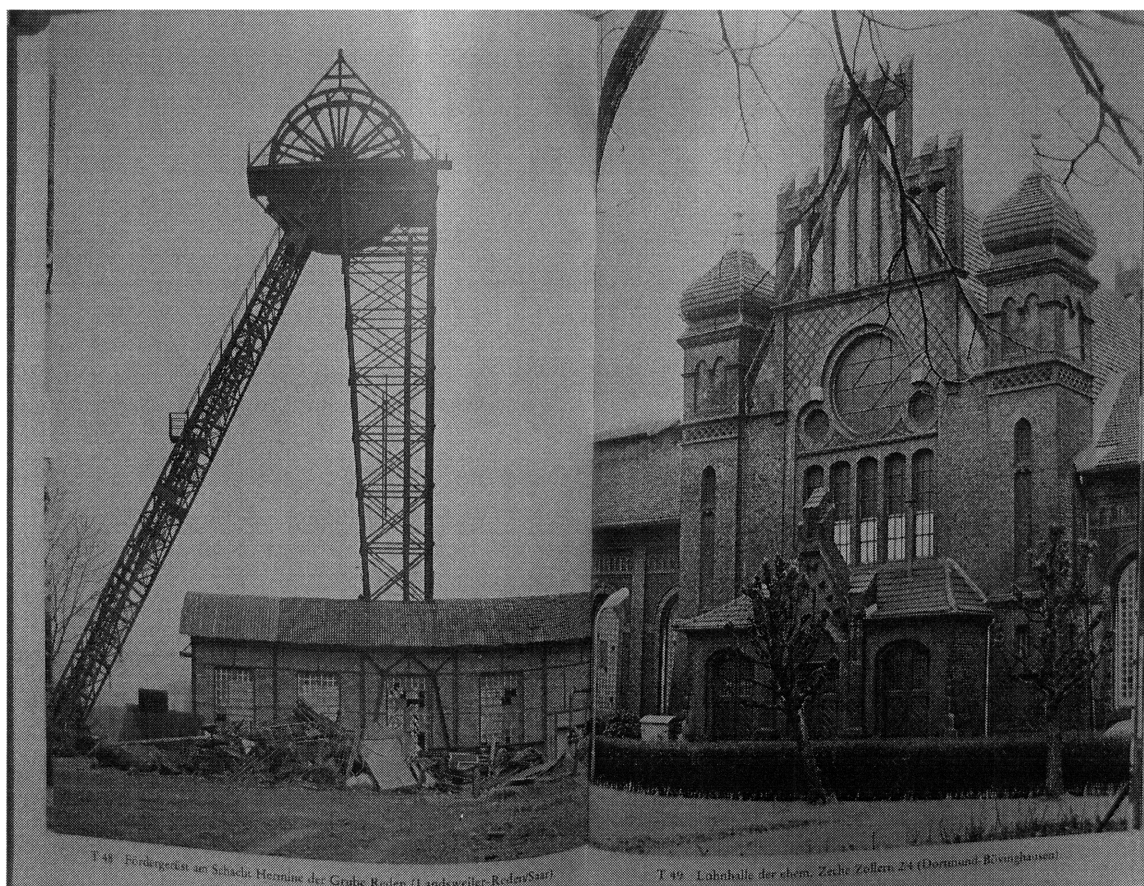


Fig. 4.12: Bernd Becher, Pit Frame of the Hermine Mine, c. 1976
and archival photograph on page spread.
From: Rainer Slotta. *Einführung in die Industriearchäologie* (Darmstadt, 1982).

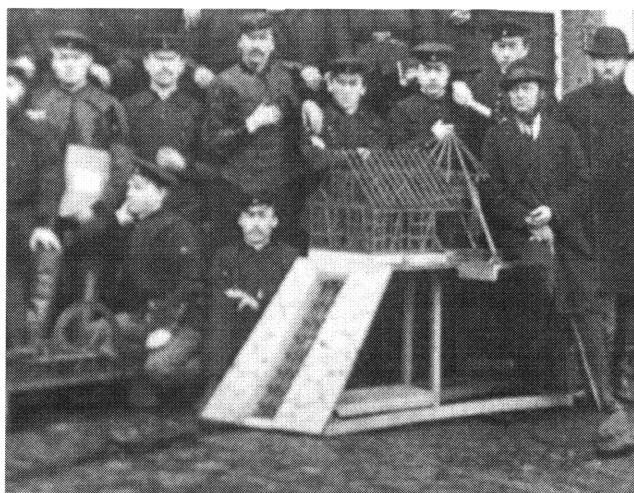


Fig. 4.13: Class of the Bergschule Siegen, 1873.
From Georg Hackstein. *Historische Fotografie im Siegerland* (Siegen, 1995).



Fig. 4.14: Bernd Becher, plate 1, *Holzhäuser Straße 25, Allendorf*, 1973.
From *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* (Munich, 1977).

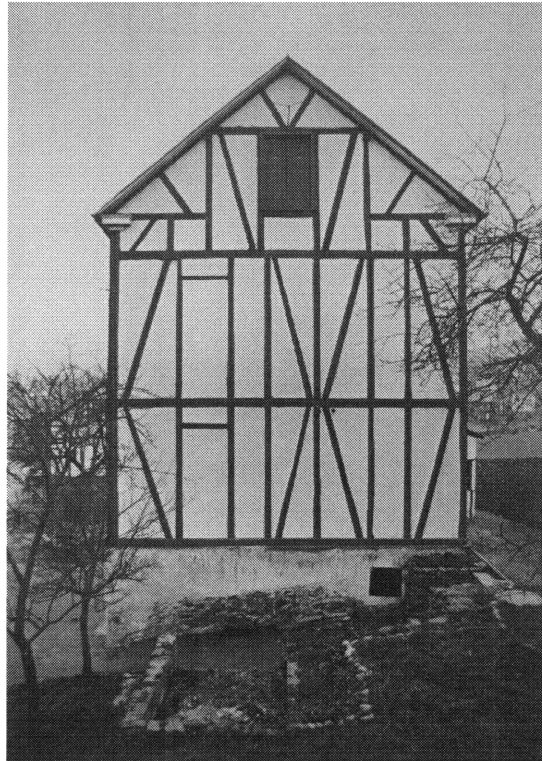


Fig. 4.15: Bernd Becher, „Rensdorfstraße 13, Salchendorf, 1960,” plate 14.
From: *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* (Munich, 1977).

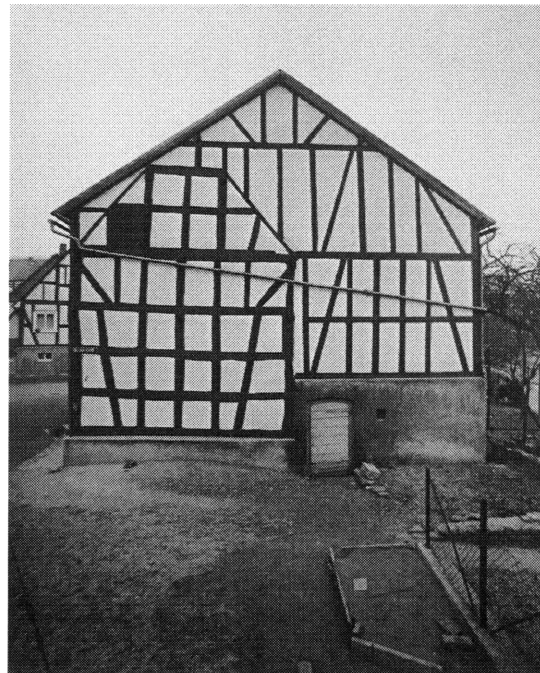
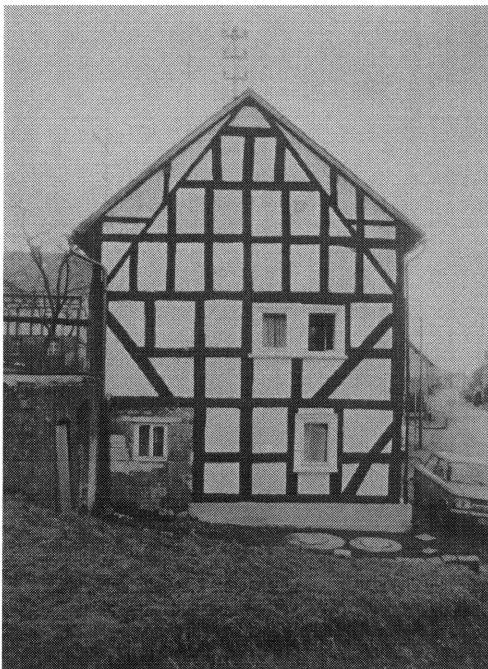


Fig. 4.16: Bernd Becher, plates 75 and 81.
From: *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* (Munich, 1977).

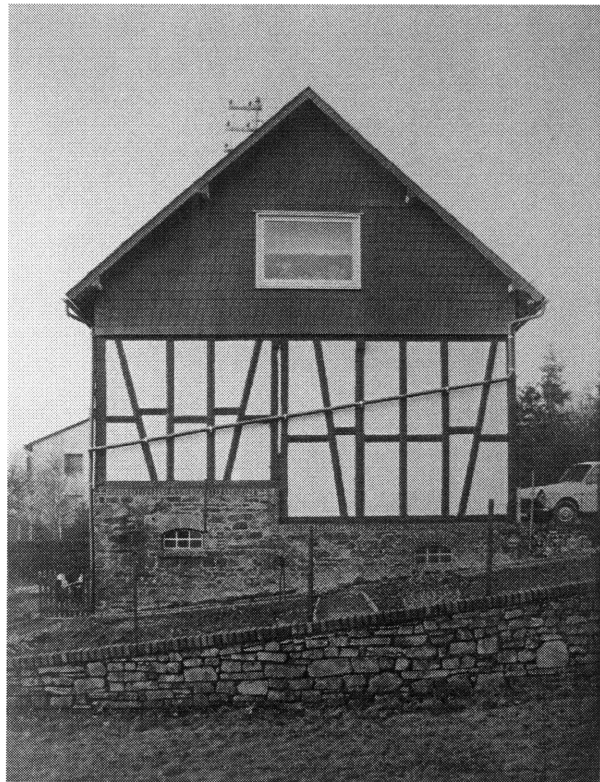


Fig. 4.17: Bernd Becher, plates 42 and 43.
From: *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* (Munich, 1977).

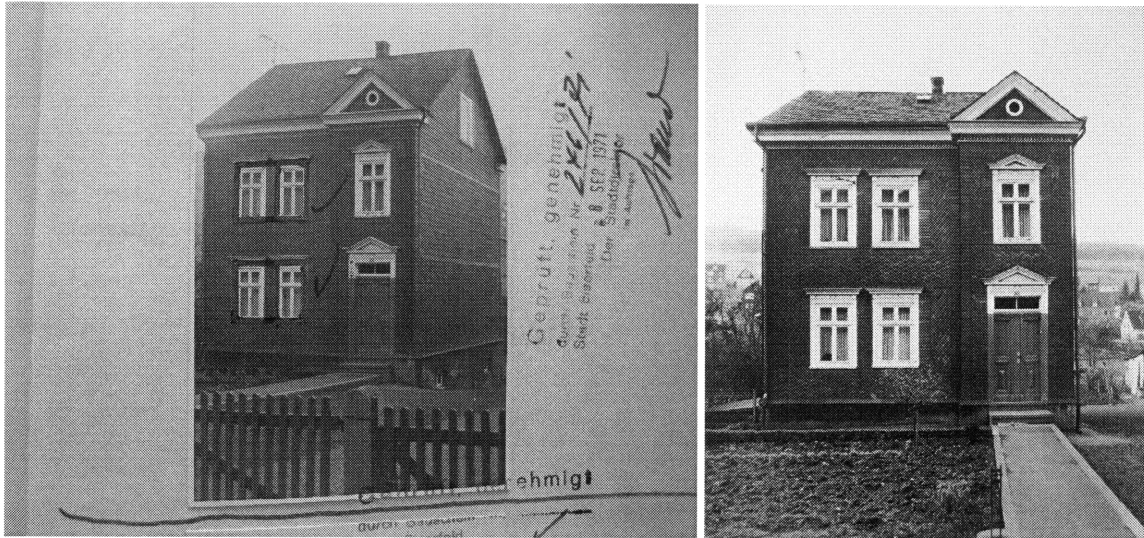


Fig. 4.18: Building permit application.

From: Bauaufsichtsamt Siegen (left)

Bernd Becher, plate 201.

From: *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* (Munich, 1977).

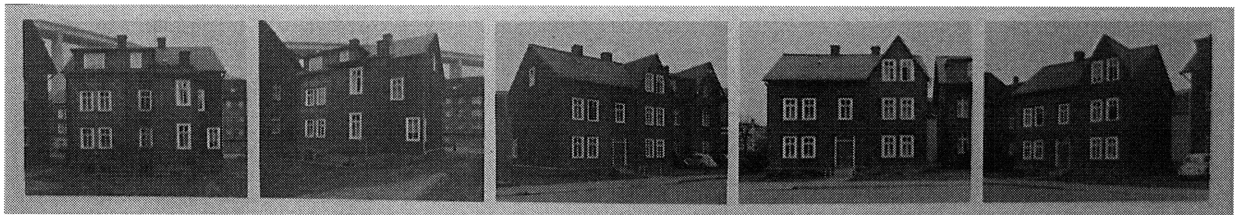


Fig. 4.19: Bernd Becher, plate 296. From: *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes* (Munich, 1977).



Fig. 5.1: Candida Höfer,
Weidengasse Köln 1975
Eckermannstraße Hamburg 1978
 From: Candida Höfer. *Türken in Deutschland* (Cologne, 1980).

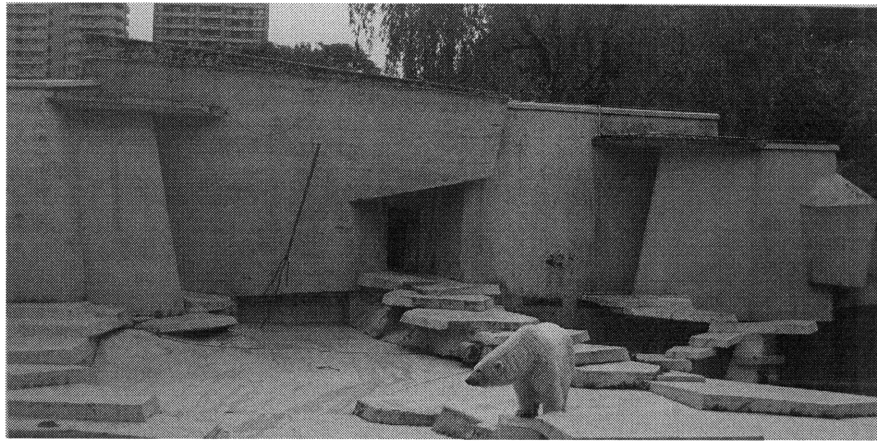


Fig. 5.2: Candida Höfer, *Zoologischer Garten Köln I, 1992*.
 From: Candida Höfer. *Zoologische Gärten* (Hamburg/Bern, 1993).



Fig. 5.3: Thomas Struth
Crosby Street, New York 1978
Düsselstraße, Düsseldorf 1979
 From: Thomas Struth. *Unbewußte Orte. Unconscious Places* (Cologne, 1988).